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VOLUME THE SECOND.

A SHORT AND PLAIN WAY TO THE FAITH AND CHURCH,

BY RICHARD HUDLESTON, O.S.B.

AND

ERASTUS SENIOR,

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1844.

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It is intended that the third and ensuing volumes shall appear at less distant intervals, and that each, on an average, shall be much larger than the present. In the mean time, the humble efforts, now made to republish such of the more valuable works of the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as may be considered suitable to the present times, will, it is hoped, meet with sufficient encouragement from the public, to enable the projectors of this design to carry out their intentions to the extent originally proposed.

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TO THE

Faith and Church.

COMPOSED

Many Years since by that Eminent Divine Mr. *Richard Hudleston* of the English Congregation of the Order of St. *Benedict.* And now Published for the Common Good by his Nephew Mr. *Jo. Hudleston* of the same Congregation.

To which is Annexed his late Majesty King *Charles* the Second his Papers found in his Closet after his Decease.

As also a Brief Account of what occurred on his Death-bed in Regard to Religion.

Permissu Superiorum.

LONDON:

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1688.

TO

THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

MADAM,

IT is not only the honour I have of being in your Majesty's service ever since your first accession to the crown of these realms, which gives me the boldness to lay this little offering at your royal feet, but the book itself brings along with it so many good qualities which will recommend it to your Majesty's perusal, that I thought I could do no less; for it contains the most excellent subject, and that which lies nearest your royal heart—the doctrine of the Catholic church,—and this so clearly deduced and evinced, that, I dare say, it shines nowhere brighter, except in your Majesty's life and example. Ecclesiastical writers only draw the lines, while the lives of good Christians lay on the colours: and though all the glory of the King's daughter be from within, yet all the beauty which charms the eye, and renders the Church as lovely as she is holy, is from without, in the piety of her children, especially of Queens; so that this theory, added to your Majesty's practice, mutually illustrating each other, I am persuaded is sufficient to convince the most obstinate of the reason-

ableness of our service on the one hand, and, on the other, to force this confession from the most prejudiced, that such an eminent, uninterrupted course of devotion, and every good work, cannot be inspired or maintained but by a religion pure and undefiled, and guiltless of all those blemishes which the ignorant and malicious cast upon it. Wherefore, by presenting this book to your Majesty, I do a duty to religion, and an act of justice to the learned author, by setting his doctrine in the clearest light. But your Majesty has a title to it which is incommunicable, and which you will esteem the fairest flower in your crown; it being read and approved and highly commended by his late Majesty, of ever blessed and glorious memory; and having laid the foundation of that conversion of his to the Catholic church, of which your Majesty is so irrefragable a witness, and which your Majesty would look upon as the happiest moment of your own life, as well of his, had it not been so near his last. But, if this consideration affords your Majesty the greatest subject of comfort, the view of this book will furnish you with as great a one of admiration—it calling to your mind the secret workings of God's providence, which forgets not to be merciful, even when we lie under the scourges of his displeasure. This book fell into the King's hands when almost all others were armed against him; it was his faithful companion when all the world had deserted him, but shewed that God had not. At that very time, when

the power of darkness prevailed, and began to overspread three kingdoms, Almighty God, by the means of this book, made light to shine out of darkness, and began thus early to recompense his temporal obscurity in his retirement at Moseley, in Staffordshire, by sowing in his heart the seeds of an indeficient light, which, through all the opposition of the three enemies of mankind, by the unwearied hand of Providence, wrought themselves at last into a perfect day; and as that Providence made me an unworthy instrument in preserving the person of my Sovereign (which I mention, not to arrogate any thing to myself, for I did no more than the principles of my religion and allegiance obliged me to), so it appointed me the keeper of this excellent treatise, to which God gave such an admirable increase: and the same reasons which made me keep it ever since, as a great treasure, have at length prevailed with me to make it public, that others may enrich themselves by it. After which resolution taken, I did not long deliberate to whom I should make the first tender of it, it being your Majesty's in right of the King; and as such, I lay it, with myself, at your sacred feet, being,

MADAM,

Your Majesty's most Faithful,

Most Humble, and most Obedient

Subject and Chaplain,

JOHN HUDLESTON.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

Though this great in little volume needs no other recommendation than the bare perusal, nor the writer of it other encomium than his bare name to give credit to both—the work itself ennobling the author, and the author the work—yet, to give each its due weight, and let the reader more clearly understand as well the fruit by the tree, as the tree by the fruit, take here a short abstract, first of the author's life, next of the reasons or motives of this present publication.

Concerning the first, please to know, the book was long since composed for the medicinal instruction of a private friend, by my uncle, Mr. Richard Hudleston, the youngest son of Andrew Hudleston, of Farrington Hall, in Lancashire. He was born towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. When he arrived to the years of maturity for studies, he was sent to Rheims, in France, where he became an exquisite proficient in poetry and rhetoric: from Rheims he went to

Rome, where he passed his schools of philosophy and divinity with an improvement proportionable to his great wit and industry. These studies completed, that he might effectually advance as well in piety as learning, he entered into a religious state, and was professed at the famous Mount Cassino, the first monastery founded by the holy patriarch, St. Benedict, in Italy. In this holy place he spent divers years in solitude, prayer, reading the Scriptures, councils, fathers, &c.; in which theory having attained to an eminent degree of perfection, at length, thoroughly qualified for an apostolic missioner, he returned into England. Here, like another St. Augustine endued with an evangelical spirit, he exerted his talents in preaching, teaching, disputing, and reducing his strayed countrymen to the sheepfold of Christ; and it pleased the Divine goodness to bless his endeavours and second his words with extraordinary success. In all, as well public debates as private conferences, he still came off a conqueror, in so much that many chief families, as those of the Irelands, Watertons, Midletons, Traps's, Thimbelbyes, &c., in Yorkshire; those of the Prestons, Andertons, Downs's, Straffords, Sherbourns, Inglebyes, &c., in Lancashire; with numberless others of all states and conditions, owe next to God their respective reconciliations to this worthy Benedictine. But I do not pretend here to frame a panegyric; it may suffice in short to aver, that the purity of his life bore equal measures with the candour of his doctrine, both unblemished; and that, after thirty years of faithful labours in Christ's vineyard, he rested in peace, leaving behind

him a sweet odour of virtue to all posterity. He writ, on several occurrences, several treatises, of which one is this small but fortunate book we now publish; fortunate, I say, in that (God so ordaining), it became an occasional instrument towards the conversion of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles II., to the faith and unity of the Catholic church.

To explain myself in this matter:—the malignity of the times, and the disasters ensuing thereupon, for above these forty years, have been too pernicious to be soon forgot. There are none so ignorant who have not heard of the defeat of his late Majesty's army by the rebels at Worcester, on the 3rd of September, 1651; and of the then preservation of his sacred life and person by the care and fidelity of his Catholic subjects, of whom I acknowledge myself the most unworthy. In this sad conjuncture it was that the desolate King, after having been harassed to and fro, night and day, in continual fatigues and perils, from Wednesday the day of the battle, till Sunday following (the particulars of which are out of the sphere of my present design to enlarge upon), at last found an asylum and refuge at Mr. Whitgrave's house, at Moseley, whither Divine Providence, not long before, brought me, and where I had first the honour of attending upon him. During this retreat, whilst Mr. Whitgrave, his lady, and mother (who, alone, of all the household were privy to the secret), were often busied in watching and other discharges of their duty towards his accommodation and safeguard, his Majesty was pleased to entertain him-

self for the most part with me in my chamber, by perusing several of my books; amongst others, he took up this present treatise, then a manuscript, lying on the table of a closet adjacent to my chamber. He read it, he seriously considered it, and, after mature deliberation, pronounced this sentence upon it, viz. "I have not seen any thing more plain and clear upon this subject. The arguments here drawn from succession are so conclusive, I do not conceive how they can be denied." Now, that this was not any sudden motion or superficial compliment of his Majesty, but the product of a real and solid conviction, is manifest by the tenor and gravity of the words themselves; by the papers found in his closet after his decease, under his own hand, which seem, even to the very manner of expression, to breathe the same spirit and genius with that of the book; and lastly, by those truly Christian catholic resolutions he took (albeit through frailty late) in disposing himself for a happy departure out of this world, by an entire reconcilement to God and the Church. For this cause, I have annexed to the close of this treatise, as well the before-mentioned papers, as also a brief account of what, upon my own knowledge, occurred at his death in regard to religion. If, therefore, evincing arguments, confirmed by the final sentiments and examples of a King known as great in judgment as dignity, may, through the influence of Divine grace, be prevalent, I have just reason to hope this little book will have the same effect upon others as it had upon him—the sole motive of the present edition.

A

SHORT AND PLAIN WAY

TO THE

FAITH AND CHURCH.

1. ALMIGHTY GOD, who (as St. Augustine well observeth), "though he change his work, alters not his design,"* having from all eternity decreed to bring man to his final end and happiness by obedience; what he effected not in the first Adam he accomplished in the second, whom he made "author of eternal salvation to all that obey him"† and observe his law; for God hath proposed him "a propitiation by faith," &c. Rom. iii. 25.

2. And therefore, in his eternal providence ordaining a lively faith‡ as the chiefest means whereby we are to work

* Aug. in Manu. cap. 1.

† Heb. v. 9.

‡ "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but faith which worketh by charity," Gal. v. 6: "Without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. ii. 6: All the prophets witness that through his name all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins, Acts x. 43: "The just man liveth by faith," Rom. i. 17.

out our salvation, he hath essentially implied in the exercise thereof an humble subjection and obedience of our understanding to his revealed will, so as the very act of belief is in Holy Scripture often styled obedience.*

3. Wherefore great assuredly and dangerous is their mistake, who in the mysteries of christian religion deny or doubt when the dim light of natural reason affords them no clear apprehension of the object: seeing God in these affairs (through the demerit of our first transgression)† exacteth from our understanding rather by a submissive‡ faith to give assent than by the light of natural reason to receive satisfaction.

4. For so great is man's inbred desire to know, and even in the state of innocence, so nearly bordering upon excess, that the crafty serpent§ thought it his best

* "All obey not the gospel," Rom. x. 16: "Who hath bewitched you not to obey the truth?" Gal. iii. 1: "If any man obey not the word," 2 Thes. iii. 14: "Ye have obeyed from your very heart unto the form of doctrine whereunto you are delivered," Rom. vi. 17: "Rendering vengeance unto them, &c. which obey not the gospel of our Lord," 2 Thes. i. 8: "Who did let you that you did not obey the truth?" Gal. v. 7.

† Being inordinate affectation of knowledge, Gen. iii. 5. "You shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."

‡ "Unless you believe you shall not understand," Isaiah vii. 9; according to the translation of the Septuagint, not quickness of understanding, but simplicity of belief maketh the people or vulgar sort most secure. Aug. contra Epist. Fundam. c. 4.

§ Gen. iii. 5: "The serpent said to the woman .... What day you shall eat thereof your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as gods knowing good and evil," 2 Cor. xi. 3: "But I fear as the serpent seduced Eve by his subtility, so your senses may be corrupted, and you fall from that simplicity which is in Jesus Christ." "The searcher of majesty shall be oppressed with glory," Prov. xxv. 27. "Search not things higher than thy reach, neither seek the things which are too mighty for thee; but what God hath commanded think upon that with reverence, and be not curious in many of his works, for it is not needful for thee to see with thine eyes those things that are hidden, for

advantage to assail us in that unsatiable appetite of knowledge, our own inclination (naturally prone thereunto) seeming to his malignant subtility the fittest bias to draw us to his designed mark, our everlasting destruction.

5. But the wisdom of our heavenly physician perceiving us to surfeit on that forbidden fruit, contrived a remedy opposite to the disease, curing that excessive desire to know by prescribed abstinence from curious search of his mysteries, and in just punishment of the mind's rebellion* captivating it to an obsequious belief of things not appearing and unsearchable, that what pride of wit and reason had lost might be regained by an humble obedience of faith; and the mind believing steadfastly what it cannot clearly understand might better satisfy for rebellious affectation of knowledge.

6. Wherefore, God having ordained (as before I said) a supernatural faith, so absolutely necessary to salvation as without it† none can be saved, and furthermore, on his part, earnestly desiring ‡ "that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth," his infinite goodness and providence § (never forsaking his creatures in necessaries) hath undoubtedly provided

many things are shewn thee above the capacity of men, and the meddling with such hath beguiled many, and an evil opinion hath deceived the judgment." Ecclus. iii. 21—24.

* "Bringing into captivity every (thought or) understanding to the obedience of Christ," 2 Cor. x. 5.

† Heb. xi. 6; Rom. iii. 28; Acts x. 43. See number 2.

‡ 1 Tim. ii. 4.

§ To them who do what they are able God denieth not his aid,—a common axiom among divines. "God would have none to perish, but would have all men to come to repentance," 2 Peter iii. 9.

some* assured way or means by which all may sufficiently know, and so obediently embrace saving faith.

7. Which faith, or supernatural knowledge, being in itself† obscure, and of things far transcending the sphere of human capacity, and yet by divine ordinance to be obtained by hearing,‡ it followeth necessarily, that there must be some (to us certainly known) and undoubted § authority, which may deliver as from God those things wherein he thus exacteth our belief, upon which authority, as upon a certain ground or basis while we rely, we may be raised up to the necessary knowledge, love, and service of his sovereign majesty.

8. Now this authority must neither be divine only, nor only human, but human inspired by God; not only human, in regard of the || weakness, ignorance, and error of man's

* See Isaiah xxxv. throughout, but particularly verse 8, where Almighty God promiseth "that there shall be a path and way, and it shall be called the holy way, and it shall be so direct or plain a way (to us) as even fools cannot err in it."

† "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the argument of things not appearing," Heb. xi. 1. "We see now as by a glass in a dark sort, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then I shall know as I am known," 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

‡ Rom. x. "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach unless they be sent?" &c. 14, 15. "Then faith is by hearing," 17.

§ See this proved at large, number 14 following. "If God's providence govern human affairs" (saith St. Augustine), "we must not despair or doubt but that he hath ordained some certain authority upon which staying ourselves as upon a certain ground or step, we may be lifted up to God." Aug. Utilit. Credendi.

|| Error et tenebræ peccatoribus concreata sunt, Ecclus. xi. 16. Error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners: for the thoughts of mortal men are fearful, and our forecasts are uncertain, because a corruptible body is burdensome to the soul, and the earthly mansion presseth down the

understanding, even in things natural and of inferior alloy: whereas the knowledge of that saving truth must be certain and infallible of matters heavenly and supernatural.

9. Neither must it be divine alone without the ministry of human authority, appointed to that end by God, in regard his infinite wisdom doth not ordinarily* teach us the mysteries of faith in that manner, as appeareth by the law, prophets, and gospel throughout, so expounded as to this particular even by our adversaries.

mind that is full of cares; hardly can we discern the things that are upon earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us; but who can seek out the things that are in heaven, or who can know thy counsel, O God, except thou give him wisdom and send thy Holy Spirit from above? for so the ways of them that are upon earth are made straight, and men are taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and are preserved through thy wisdom. Sap. ix. 13, 14, &c.; Isaiah xl. 13; Rom. xi. 29; 1 Cor. ii. 16. See the Book of Wisdom Prot. Translation in the places mentioned.

* This is proved at large by St. Augustine, in the preface of his book of Christian Doctrine, both by reason and divine authority, where he thus concludeth: "How should it be true which is said, 'The temple of God is holy, which you are,' if God would pronounce and give no answer from this temple, but all which men should learn he would deliver from heaven or by angels?" This truth is also expressly confessed and taught by Calvin, Inst. lib. 4, cap. 1, sec. 5; where he says, "We see that God, who could in a moment perfect his elect, would, notwithstanding, that they should not grow to their full strength but by education of the church, &c. For this purpose it was his will that in times past there should be sacred meetings at the sanctuary, that the doctrines pronounced by the mouth of the priest might nourish or increase the consent or unity of faith, &c.; and as he did not send them before the gospel to learn of angels, but raised them teachers from the earth, who might truly perform that angelical function, so his will is at this day that we should teach in a manner agreeable to man's nature; and as formerly he was not content with the law alone, but added priests, interpreters from whom the people might inquire or receive the sense or meaning thereof, so in these times also." Thus Calvin; and Bishop Bancroft in his sermon preached the 8th of February saith, "God hath bound himself to his church of purpose that men by her good direction might in matters of doubt be relieved."

10. To what may be objected, Isaiah liv. 13, "All shall be taught of God;" and Jer. xxxi. 34, "Every one shall no more teach his neighbour," &c., we answer briefly, it is the manner of holy Scripture, in such things as are principally wrought by God, to speak as if he alone wrought them without means or instrument, that all glory may be given to him alone who imparts to the instrument its force and aptness to co-operate.

11. This certain authority, therefore, by which all at all times may be sufficiently directed and resolved in all points of faith, as by an external competent and an infallible judge, cannot be the written word alone, as Protestants affirm.

12. First, in regard it is obscure both for the depth of matters contained* and manner of delivering them, dark, ambiguous, allegorical. Secondly, it expresseth not *all* matters of faith, as what books are Scripture; what not; that God commanded the sabbath to be changed; that there are two natures in Christ, and but one person, &c.

13. Thirdly, that authority which is supreme judge in doubtful affairs must necessarily be such as with all them who acknowledge and receive it in that kind it may be able clearly and efficaciously to determine all their controversies; but Scripture alone is not able to do this in all controverted points of religion;† for it doth not in all of them clearly pronounce sentence, nay, even Lutherans and Cal-

* "O wonderful profoundness of thy words! wonderful profoundness, O my God! it maketh a man tremble to look upon it." St. Aug. in Confes. lib. 1, cap. 14. "O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how incomprehensible are his judgments, and unsearchable his ways!" Rom. xi. 33.

† See before, number 12. And to the instances thereof may be added, that such as are baptized by heretics ought not to be rebaptized; that the blessed Virgin Mary was a perpetual virgin; yea, that the Holy Ghost is one substance with the Father and the Son.

vinists, Anabaptists and Arians (who acknowledge it for judge), after whatsoever is therein pronounced, continue still in their violent and virulent altercations;* no party confessing Scripture to have given sentence against them. Whereas, the judge should so pronounce sentence as the one party may know themselves condemned, the other cleared, else there can be no end of dispute and contention. Lastly, in all well-ordered commonwealths, besides the law under which the people live, there must be some external judge to expound and declare (with irrefragable authority) the sense and true meaning of the law; much more in the spiritual kingdom of Christ, where the law is more profound and difficult, the errors more dangerous, subjection, unity, and obedience to the governors more necessary.

14. We conclude, therefore, that the true church of God, or prelates thereof, assisted by his word and Spirit,† and perpetually, by succession of bishops and pastors,

* "The dissensions that are among us" (saith Nich. Gallus, a Protestant) "are not light, nor of light, but of chief articles of christian doctrine, as of the law and the gospel, of justification and good works, of the sacraments, &c." Thus Nich. Gallus in Thes. et Hypoth.; he might have added with Selucer upon the 103rd psalm, part iii., their dissension about the humanity of Christ, his ascension into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of God, &c.; and here in England, about his descent into hell, predestination, and the necessity of bishops in the church. "We" (saith Martin Luther) "censure in good earnest the Zuinglians and all Sacramentarians (that is, all who deny the real and substantial presence of Christ's body in the sacrament) for heretics and aliens from the church of God." Luth. cont. Articul. Lovan. Thes. 27, tom. ii. fol. 53.

† Isaiah lix. 21: "My Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart from thy mouth, and from the mouth of thy seed, and from the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith our Lord, from henceforth for ever." "Where God promiseth," saith Calvin, "that the church shall always be governed by the Holy Ghost," Calvin upon the 59th chap. of Isaiah: "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth," John xiv. 16.

present to the faithful in all times and ages, is the sole appointed external propounder and expounder of his law, or (in a general council) infallible judge of controversies in religion; otherwise, how should we be undoubtedly assured that former heresies were rightly condemned?

15. In which respect the eternal wisdom of God plainly denounceth of the priests and pastors of the church that they shall teach his people, &c., and in controversy they shall stand to judge," Ezek. xliv. 23, 24. Also, Deut. xvii. 8—14, "If thou perceive thy judgment with thee be hard and doubtful, &c., thou shalt come to the priests of the Levitical stock, &c., and thou shalt ask of them the truth of the judgment, and thou shalt do whatsoever they, &c., shall say and teach according to the law, and thou shalt follow their sentence; neither shalt thou decline to the right hand or to the left; but he that shall be proud, refusing to obey the commandment of the priest, that man shall die," &c.

Thus far Almighty God ordaining a supreme tribunal for resolution of doubtful affairs, even in matters of religion, from which there ought to be no appeal, as learned Protestants themselves confess:* which decree, in the

"When the Spirit of truth cometh he will teach you all truth," John xvi. 13. Iren. lib. 3, Advers. Hæres. cap. 4: "If any question arise, ought we not," saith he, "to have recourse to the most ancient churches, and take from them, concerning the present doubt, that which is certain and clear?" And Tertul. de Præscrip. cap. 21, saith, "What the apostles preached, that is, what Christ revealed to them, here also I will prescribe that it ought not otherwise to be proved but by the same churches which the apostles founded." And Irenæus, in the place before alleged, yieldeth a reason, viz. "That the apostles most fully laid up all truth in the church, as in a rich treasure-house." See the like in St. Augustine, tom. vii. contra Crescon. lib. i. cap. 39.

* Dr. Reynolds in Conf. p. 251; Whitt. de Sacr. Script. p. 466; Bilson Perp. Gover. p. 20; Hooker, Pref. Eccles. Pol. p. 28.

first and principal intendment, being moral, was not abolished by cessation of ceremonial observances; yea, rather in effect, it is often ratified and confirmed in the New and Old Testament, so far as concerneth the sovereign power of God's church for determination of ecclesiastical controversies; namely, Matt. xviii. 17, where Christ in case of like dispute with our brother,* commandeth us to tell the church, adding, "if he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican,"† that is (without further appeal), separated from the communion of saints; also, Mal. ii. 7, "The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall require the law from his mouth, for he is the angel of the Lord of Hosts;" Luke x. 16, "He that heareth you heareth me; he that despiseth you despiseth me; "and 1 John iv. 6, "He that is of God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth us not: in this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error:" also, Rom. x. 14, "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they be sent?" Faith, therefore, cometh by hearing the pastors of God's church, and observe the apostle's gradation; no faith but by hearing, no hearing but by preaching, no preaching without mission or lawful calling by God and his church: also, Heb. v. 1, Heb. xiii. 17, "Obey your prelates and be subject unto them, for they watch as they that must give an account for your souls." Lastly, Christ ascending into heaven, saith

* Like I mean to that expressed Deut. xvii. in the place before alleged.

† Christ, as he provided here against other differences of the faithful, so especially for those in matter of doctrine, as more pernicious to his church, seeing they impugn the foundation thereof—unity of faith and religion: "one God, one faith," Eph. iv. (observe here).

the apostle, gave, therefore (namely, to his church and as it were in his place), "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry and building up the mystical body of Christ, till we all meet in the unity of faith,"* &c.; that is, even as learned Protestants expound,† until the end of the world; and declaring in the same place the design or purpose of God herein, v. 14, he addeth, "that we may henceforth be no more as children wavering, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftiness, whereby they lay wait to deceive;" so manifestly doth the Spirit of God here by St. Paul declare that he hath ordained the pastors of his church to deliver his truth unto us and preserve us from wavering or fluctuating in faith.

16. It now remaineth to shew which is the true church, to the end that, having found out that pillar of faith, that immaculate spouse of Christ, we may embrace her doctrine, obey her decrees, and repose securely in her judgments.

17. Wherefore, observe diligently the question in this matter betwixt us and our adversaries is not *what* is the true church? But *which* is the true church? That is, we inquire not here concerning the intrinsical essence of the church, but by what external and sensible notes, signs, or marks we may find out and discover which, amongst so many pretended faithful congregations, is the true church.

18. Protestants assign, as marks whereby to find out

* Ephes. iv. 11.

† Calv. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 8, sec. 37, 38; Melanct. loc. com. cap. 1, de Eccles.; Fulk against the Rhemes Test. hereupon, Ephes. iv.

the true church,* "lawful ministry of the word and sacraments," but improperly, and not without fraud.

19. For the mark and note, whereby any thing, to us unknown, is to be discovered and found out, must be first known, and more evident than what we seek thereby to note or discover, otherwise we shall not find what we seek, but vainly endeavour to resolve one matter in doubt by another more or equally doubtful and intricate.

20. Whereas, first, lawful ministry of the word or truth of doctrine is more unknown to us than the church which is always visible, and therefore in the holy Scripture compared unto a city on a hill,† a tabernacle in the sun,‡ a mountain on the top of mountains,§ and expressly affirmed to be "a pathway so direct or plain as even fools do not or cannot err therein."‖

21. Secondly, none may preach, that is, teach as pastors, the word and administer the sacrament according

* Whitg. Defen. p. 81; Willet, Synop. p. 69; Confes. Aug. art. 7; Calv. Instit. lib. 4, cap. 1, sec. 10; Church of England, art. 19, prop. 4; see the book entitled "The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England," p. 92, allowed by public authority.

† Matt. v. 14, 15, "Ye are the light of the world; a city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel (of invisibility), but on a candlestick, that it may shine to all."

‡ Psalm xix. 5, "He hath placed his tabernacle in the sun," that is, saith St. Augustine there, "his church in public, not in private."

§ Isaiah ii. 2, "In the latter days there shall be prepared a mountain in the tops of mountains, and it shall be lifted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; and many people shall say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of our Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for the law shall go out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." So plain it is that first we are to repair to the house of God, and there to learn his law and word. See St. Augustine, tract. i. Epist. Joan. &c.

‖ Isaiah xxxv. 8.

to the ordinary course appointed by God, unless they be lawfully* ordained,† sent, and called thereunto by the church; therefore the church must first be known, and by the church their lawful calling to that ministry, for "faith cometh by hearing," Rom. x. 17; "hearing by the word of God;" and this from the pastors lawfully ordained, sent, or called by God's church unto the church; therefore we must first repair to know whom we ought to hear, that so hearing we may believe, and believing obtain salvation.

22. Thirdly, we know not certainly the books of Scripture but by the church,‡ much less the sense and true meaning of them; wherefore, doubting souls in the Canticles, desiring to know "where the bridegroom feedeth," receive from the Spirit of God this direction: "If thou knowest not, get thee forth by the steps of the flocks and feed thy kids by the tents of the shepherds;"§ directing, saith the marginal note of the English Protestant Bible, "the ignorant to their pastors."

23. Fourthly, the certain knowledge of true ministry of the word in that boundless latitude supposing a resolution of all doubtful matters of faith, is a thing impossible for most, peradventure any of the faithful, to arrive unto; and a man may sooner end his life than such an inquiry, which, according to that mark, cannot be done but by an

* Heb. xi. 6.

† Rom. x. 14—16, "How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach unless they be sent?" &c.

‡ St. Augustine, tom. vi. contra Epist. Fund. cap. v. saith, "I would not believe the gospel unless the authority of the church moved me thereto;" also, Mr. Hooker, a Protestant, plainly affirmeth "that it is confessed impossible for Scripture itself to teach what books are divine." Eccles. Pol. lib. iii. 14.

§ Cant. i. 7.

entire knowledge of all truth; and this, according to Protestants, by the written word alone, which multitudes cannot read, much less understand.

24. Fifthly, true ministry of the word or truth of doctrine is the matter chiefly in question, and all grant that it may be learned most speedily by the true church, which we therefore seek to know; so as to assign true ministry of the word as a mark whereby to find out the true church is in effect to assign the matter most in question for a resolution.

25. Sixthly, according to this mark, the reformed churches, as they call them, of England, France, Germany, Holland, &c., are not the true catholic church, for all of them have not the word truly preached, seeing they differ * contradictorily in fundamental points of religion, as about the books of Scripture, the law and gospel, faith and works, articles of the creed and sacraments.

26. Seventhly, amongst schismatics not fallen to formal heresy, but dividing themselves from the church through pride only and disobedience, there may be found the same ministry of doctrine and sacraments with the true church, yet are not schismatics, according to St. Augustine,† members of the true church.

27. Lastly, it is against the ordinance of God in holy Scripture, where he prescribeth that we should receive the

* See before, at number 13, note †, where their dissensions in these and the like matters are acknowledged by Protestants.

† "No man can have Christ for head who is not in his body, which is the church. Heretics, by believing falsely of God, do violate the faith, and schismatics by their wicked dissensions fly from fraternal charity, although they believe as we do; and therefore neither doth the heretic belong to the catholic church because he believeth not God, nor the schismatic because he loveth not his neighbour." Aug. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 19.

word of faith and his law from the pastors of his church, as before we proved at large,* and our adversaries, convinced by truth, do plainly confess.† The church, therefore, of necessity must be the first known, and by the church, the law and doctrine of Christ.

28. Wherefore, leaving this fraudulent tergiversation of Protestants,‡ and omitting, for brevity's sake, such notes and marks of the catholic church as others usually do assign, I suppose first as evident in God's book and acknowledged:

29. That the true church must continue for ever. §

* See the text, number 5, &c., throughout.

† See before, in the note of number 9, what is there alleged out of Calvin, who in the same chapter, sec. v., styleth the church "a faithful keeper of the truth," affirming that all true doctrine is to be required from her ministry. Dr. Feild, likewise, in his Preface to his First Book of the Church, adviseth well, saying, "Forasmuch as controversies in religion in our time are grown in number so many, in nature so intricate, that few have time or leisure, fewer strength of understanding, to examine them, what remaineth for men desirous of satisfaction in things of such consequence, but diligently to search out which, amongst all the societies of men of the world, is that blessed company of holy ones, that household of faith, that spouse of Christ, and church of the living God, which is the ground of truth, that so we may embrace her communion, follow her direction, and rest in her judgment?"

‡ Fraudulent because assigning true ministry of the word or truth of doctrine as the only mark or note whereby we are to find out the true church, howbeit more difficult and unknown to us than the church itself.

§ "In the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and this kingdom shall not be given to another people, but it shall break and destroy all other kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever," Dan. ii. 44. "Of the increase," &c. "On the throne of David shall he sit to strengthen it with judgment and justice from henceforth for ever; the zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this," Isaiah ix. 7. See also Luke i. 33, "Upon this rock will I build my church, and hell's gates shall not prevail against it;" Matt. xvi. 18, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," Matt. ult.

30. Secondly, which our adversaries likewise confess* that it cannot so continue without lawful ministry of the word and sacraments.

31. Thirdly, the word and sacraments, according to God's ordinance, cannot be ministered but by lawful priests and pastors.†

32. Fourthly, that none can be lawful priests and pastors except they be ordained by bishops and duly called to the function.‡

* Dr. Whittaker, speaking of the necessary ministry of the word and sacraments, saith, "They are essential properties of the church." Contra Dur. lib. 3, p. 260, "Being present they constitute a church, being absent they subvert it," p. 249. Deering, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, cap. iii. lect. 16, "Take away preaching, you take away faith; the ministry of the word and sacraments is in absolute degree of necessity to salvation." Defen. of Eccles. Discip. p. 33, "These marks cannot be absent from the church, and it is no longer a true church than it hath them." Willet. Synop. p. 71, "The only absence of them makes a nullity to the church."

† "No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was," Heb. v. 4; "How shall they preach unless they be sent?" Rom. x. 15; see also number 16 throughout, Acts xv. 3, 4; so as the Spirit of God, in holy Scripture, brandeth heretics with the marks of coming unsent. Jerem. xxii. 21: "I have not sent them, yet they ran." "All that came before me are thieves and robbers," John x. 8; and in the same chapter, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not in by the door" (namely, by lawful calling and ordination) "into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, is a thief and a robber." This truth is likewise confessed by our adversaries. Cartwright, in his second reply, part ii. p. 128, saith, "It is forbidden that any should take this honour to himself, but he who is called of God as Aaron was. What greater necessity of sacrifice than when Saul took it upon him? 1 Sam. xiii. What greater appearance of necessity than when Ozias stayed the ark ready to fall? 2 Sam. vi. 7; yet these necessities notwithstanding, forsomuch as they took upon them that whereunto they were not called, they received the reward of their boldness." Thus far Mr. Cartwright in the place alleged.

‡ This (to omit other Protestants) is at large declared by Willet, Protestant Bishop of Rochester, from scriptures, fathers, councils, and practice of the

33. All which supposed, I prove the Protestant church not to be the true church of God, for

whole church, in his sermon preached at Hampton Court, the 21st of September, 1606, when he saith, touching ordination, "That in the church of Ephesus, there were presbyters long before Timothy was appointed bishop there; yet St. Paul sent him on purpose to impose hands, 1 Tim. v. 22; and for that intent, also, he left Titus in Crete, Tit. i. 5. Neither would the church of Christ succeeding admit any other but bishops to that business as not justifiable for the Presbyter, either by reason, example, or scripture; for reason, it is a rule without contradiction, saith the apostle, Heb. vii. 7, 'That he which blesseth should be greater than he which is blessed' (taking it for the blessing which is by authority, not of devotion). The blessing of authority therefore comes from the greater, as honour is in him that confers it, not in him that takes it; and this is St. Ambrose's reason upon 1 Tim. iii. Secondly, for example, not one is shewed through the ecclesiastical history, that any besides a bishop did it; if some of the inferior presumed to do it, his act was reversed by the church as unlawful, as in the case of Colluthus, a presbyter of Alexandria, whereof St. Athanasius and Epiphanius make mention, who took upon him to give orders, for which both himself was censured, and what he did was revoked, and they received as mere laymen, and no otherwise, into the communion, whom he had ordered; for scripture there is none, neither of holy men, nor of the Holy Ghost, for all the holy fathers with one consent do contradict it. Chrys. upon the 1 Tim. iii. 4; Theodoret upon the same places; Œcumenius upon 1 Tim. v. Ambrose is peremptory, that it is neither *fas* nor *jus*, consonant neither with God's nor man's law, that any besides a bishop should do it. Yea, Jerome himself, who setteth a presbyter on his tip-toes, to make him go equal with a bishop, yet takes him this one peg down, *exceptâor dinatione*. 'What is it,' saith he, 'that a bishop doth that a presbyter may not do, saving ordination?' No scripture of the Holy Ghost, either analogically by consequence, or directly by precept; for analogy, none of the apostles did it or might do it, as before you heard, not directly, for to what presbyter was the authority committed, as to a presbyter only? Unto Timothy, a bishop of Ephesus, it was said, 'Lay hands hastily on no man,' 1 Tim. v. 22; and to Titus, a bishop of Crete, 'I have left thee to ordain presbyters,' Tit. i. 5." Thus far the Protestant bishop of Rochester, in his sermon, printed by King James's commandment, where he also answereth the doubts and objections to the contrary. See likewise Bishop Bonner in his Survey of the pretended Discipline, cap. 8, throughout; Whitgift's Defen.; Hooker's Eccles. Pol.; Cowell's Defence of Hooker.

34. The true church of God must continue ever, but the Protestant church hath not ever continued.*

Ergo—The Protestant church is not the true church of God.

35. The proposition† before is clearly deduced out of holy Scripture, the assumption thus I prove:

No church can from age to age continue without perpetual succession of bishops.‡

But the Protestant church § hath not had a perpetual succession of bishops.

Ergo—36. The Protestant church hath not from age to age continued.

Ergo—It is not the true church of God, which must continue ever.

* A particular church, though it hath not been, or continued at all times catholic, yet for the time that it is a true church, it must, of necessity, communicate in profession of the same faith and sacraments with that church, which, from the apostles' time, hath so continued in all ages, otherwise it is not truly catholic; and by reason of such communion in religion with catholic and apostolic churches, it may be said to continue ever, as one with them in profession of the same faith and religion, which have been at all times conspicuous: howbeit, in respect of some time, place, or persons, it is truly styled a particular church. The apostles, saith Tertullian, founded churches in every city, viz. by themselves or others; from these churches thus founded, other churches have and daily do borrow their propagation of faith and seed of doctrine by which they are churches; and in this respect, they also shall be reputed apostolical, as offsprings of apostolical churches, for every offspring must be reduced to his original. Wherefore, all those churches shall be one first and apostolical, from which they all descend, so long as all of them hold and approve the same unity. Tertul. Prescript.

† See number 29, note §.

‡ See numbers 29—32. Without bishops no priests, without priests no ministers of the word and sacraments, without these no church.

§ By Protestant church we understand a congregation of such bishops, priests, and people as profess the faith now current in England. See the definition of a church by Protestant Art. 10, in the book called Catholic

37. That Protestants have not had a perpetual succession of their bishops in former ages, is manifest, for let them name,* if they can, so many as but three, known and acknowledged Protestant bishops, succeeding each other in any part of the world, for the space of a thousand years next before Luther, by whom their pastors were ordained, their word and sacraments administered, councils celebrated, heresies condemned, laws, ordinances, and canons enacted; but no ancient monuments, dipticks, or church rolls; no histories, ecclesiastical or profane, make mention of any such continued succession in former times of professed Protestant bishops: that is, bishops distinct from our Roman bishops, and professing the public doctrine of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Doctrine of the Church of England, for faith and religion are the essential difference, form, and soul of the church, so as, where these are not one and the same, there the church and congregations are not one and the same, as with the Roman Catholics and Protestants; for they can make no claim to our church and bishops, but are engaged to shew a perpetual succession of bishops professing their own faith and religion. See before, number 34, note, * "They must shew their own cards, not ours, if they mean to win the game." We stand not on the name Protestant, but exact bishops, acknowledged to be of the same doctrine and discipline.

* Tertul. Præscript. cap. 32. Let them shew," saith he, "the beginning of their churches, let them unfold the order of their bishops, so by succession coming down, as that the first bishop have some of the apostles, or apostolical men, who yet persevered with the apostles, for his author and predecessor." "Number," saith Augustine, "the priests, or bishops, from the seat itself of St. Peter, and see in that order of fathers, who to whom hath cucceeded; that is the rock against which the proud gates of hell shall not prevail," Aug. in Psal. Cont. Donat.; and in another place he saith, "the order begun by Peter, the apostle, and even unto this age, by the propagation, or offspring, of succeeding bishops, continued, they, viz. heretics, interrupt, challenging to themselves an order without original," Aug. Quest. Nov. et Vet. Test. Quest. 100.

Secondly: If they had such bishops, at the least twenty years before Luther, why did they not join with him and follow his followers, when they first opposed our religion in Germany, and other places?

Thirdly: This known want of Protestant bishops in former ages is a matter so manifest, as they themselves acknowledge their church for many ages before Luther* to have been invisible.

Fourthly: They yet confess that Luther had no right believers† before him, from whom he might receive his doctrine, and that it is ridiculous to think otherwise; considering, say they,‡ that it is manifest to the whole world, that before Luther's time all churches were overspread with more than Cymerian darkness: and Calvin affirmeth,§ "he made a revolt, or decession, from the whole world."

* "Before the days of Luther," saith Perkins, "for the space of many hundred years, an universal apostasy overspread the whole face of the earth, and our, viz. Protestant church, was not then visible to the world," Perkins upon the Creed, p. 400; and Mr. Nappier upon the Revelations, p. 148, confidently averreth, "That for 1,260 years, the Pope and his clergy hath possessed the outward visible church of Christians, reigning universally, and without any debateable contradiction," Nap. Ibid. p. 148; "God's true church," saith he, "most certainly abiding, so long latent and invisible," Ibid. p. 149; and Sebastian Franc. de Abrogat. in Univers. Stat. Eccles. yet more plainly averreth, "That for certain, through the work of Antichrist, the external church, together with the faith and sacraments, vanished shortly after the apostles' departure, and for these 1,400 years the church (viz. Protestant) hath been nowhere external and visible, Sebast. Fran. ibid.; and Mr. Jewel saith, "The true church was unknown and unheard of when Martin Luther and Zuinglius first came to the knowledge and preaching of the gospel." Jewel Apol. part 4, cap. 4, divis. 2.

† George Millius in Explicat. Conf. Aug., art. 1—7 de Eccles. p. 137, 138.

‡ Benedic. Morganstern. Tract. de Eccles. p. 143.

§ Calvin Epist. 141, p. 237, "Cum decessionem a toto mundo facere coacti sumus."

Fifthly: In regard of this their apparent want of bishops, and want of lawful ordination by them, they are constrained, either to challenge extraordinary calling * without attestation of miracles, wherewith that calling hath ever been accompanied,† or else‡, ordination from presbyters; that is, inferior ministers, who, as we shewed § before, from God's word, the primitive church, and confession of Protestants, have no power to ordain.

38. Neither will it suffice Protestants, for proof of the continuance of their church, to avouch the precedent succession of our bishops, considering they generally maintain, that doctrine, or true ministry of the Word and sacraments, are absolute and essential || marks of the true church; and, consequently, as these are not one and the same, but rather contradictorily opposite in our church and theirs, so neither can our church and theirs, nor the succession of our bishops, prove a continuance of the Protestant church; they must shew their own cards and not ours, if they mean to win the game.

39. And for their succession in England in precedent ages (to omit an inductive remonstrance to the contrary),

* Lascicius, in proof of his own opinion, allegeth Calvin saying, "Because, through the Pope's tyranny, the true course of ordination was broken off, we stood in need of a new supply, &c., and this calling was altogether extraordinary." Lascic. de Russ. Mosco. et Tartar relig. See also Calvin, Instit. lib. 4, cap. 3, sec. 24; Cartwright against Whitgift, p. 217.

† See Exod. iv.; John xv. 22; Mark xvi. 20.

‡ This doth Mr. Mason, in his preface to his book of Consecration of Bishops, expressly acknowledge by other Protestant countries, England only excepted.

§ See before, number 32, note ‡.

|| Whitg. Denfen. p. 181; Willet, Synop. p. 169; Whitta. cont. Dur. p. 260; Confes. Aug. art. 9. See also the book entitled, The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England, art. 20, where it defineth the church to be

by our* ancient and modern historiographers, Mr. Mason† and the Protestant author of Matthew Parker's life, more boldly than discreetly, boasts that the said Parker being the seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury, after St. Augustine, our apostle, of all that number he was the only man who was consecrated without the Pope's bulls; all the rest, therefore, at their inauguration, did communicate with the Roman bishops, and consequently were, as then, no professed Protestants,‡ "for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth we profess unto salvation," Rom. x. 10.

40. If any Protestant allege, in behalf of their succession, Waldo, Wickliff, Huss, &c., I answer, first, they were all of them originally Roman Catholics, and so prove only the precedent perpetuity of our Roman church, and no other more ancient, out of which, being then the only known Catholic church, they departed and impugned it—a mark wherewith Christ and his apostles usually branded § heretics.

"a visible congregation of faithful people, where the pure word of God is preached, and sacraments duly administered." And where, I pray, under the cope of heaven, will Protestants find such a visible congregation twenty years immediately before Luther, or Waldo at least?

* Math. Paris Westmin. &c.; Dr. Harpsf. Prudential Balance.

† Mason, in the book mentioned in the Consecration of Matthew Parker, p. 131, saith, "This was his singular felicity, that he being the seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury, after St. Austin, yet of that number he was the only man and first of all who was consecrated without the Pope's bulls, and superfluous Aaronical garments," &c.

‡ For Cranmer at his consecration outwardly professed himself a Roman Catholic, taking the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope. Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 1690. See Champney, Vocation of Ministers, cap. 11, p. 369; Pruden. Ball. in Cranmer; Examen of ox's Acts and Mon.

§ "Go not forth," Matt. xxiv. 26. "Certain which went out from us

41. Secondly: They* taught many false and abominable errors. Waldo and his followers taught that laymen and women might preach and consecrate; they denied all judgments to blood, they denied the Sabbath, and held that oaths were not lawful in any case. Wickliff and Huss maintained that neither bishop nor priest, being in mortal sin,† "did ordain, consecrate, or baptize." Wickliff also taught, that "there is no civil magistrate whilst he is in mortal sin;" of their errors more in particular, see the Protestant Apology, tract 2, c. 2, sect. 4, subd. 2, and the Council of Constance, sess. the 8th and 25th, where the errors are related in particular, and condemned; at which council, procured by Sigismund, the emperor, were present four patriarchs, twenty-nine cardinals; archbishops, forty-seven; bishops, one hundred and sixty; abbots and doctors, five hundred and sixty-four; and betwixt Easter and Whitsunday, were numbered in that city sixty thousand five hundred釜 externes, or strangers, who came to that council. Geneb. in Cron. Harpst. in Hist. Eccles.

42. Lastly: None of these were bishops, of whom only we inquire; for as before, we‡ proved at large, without

have troubled you," Acts xv. 24. "Many deceivers are gone out into the world," 2 John v. 7. "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us," 1 John ii. 19. "Also of your own selves, shall men arise speaking perverse things," Acts xx. 30. "These be they who separate themselves," Jude 19.

* See Guido et Anton. de Waldens. Illiricus Catal., p. 748, 729, 735, 756, &c.

† Act. Mon. p. 96; Osiand, Cent. ix.—xi.; Protest. Apol. tract 2, cap. 2, sec. 4, subd. 2.

‡ In the text, at number 32, and notes there, also number 31, under note †, number 30, note *.

bishops there can be no priest, without priest no ministry of the word or sacraments; without these no church, no faith, no salvation, which out of the true Catholic church cannot be obtained.

43. For in this point all the ancient fathers unanimously and clearly consent. "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary," saith blessed Athanasius, "that he hold the catholic faith, which unless a man keep * whole, or entire, and inviolable, without doubt, he shall perish everlastingly."

44. "Believe most firmly," said St. Fulgentius,† "and in nowise doubt but that every heretic and schismatic, though baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, if he return not to the Catholic church, how great alms soever he distribute, yea, and though he shed his blood for the name of Christ, he can by no means be saved; for neither baptism, nor most liberal alms, nor death endured for the name of Christ, can avail any man to salvation, who holdeth not fast the

* The reason is evident, because one only false doctrine maintained contumaciously against the church depriveth a man's soul of supernatural faith, as one act of fornication depriveth him of chastity, one robbery of justice, one murder of charity, and consequently dissolveth that union of faith whereby he was linked and incorporated into the mystical body of Christ, making him formally an heretic and alien from the communion of saints. 1 Cor. v. 6, "A little leaven leaveneth, or corrupteth, the whole lump." "For one word or two contrary to the faith, many heresies have been cast out of the church." St. Jerome, lib. 3, Apol. contra Ruffin.

† St. Fulgen. de Fide ad Pet. cap. 3. "Nothing can be more dangerous than those heretics, who, when as they run through all things uprightly, yet with one word, as with a drop of poison, corrupt and stain the true and sincere faith of our Lord, and of apostolical tradition," St. Greg. Nazian. Tract. de Fide. Note the word *any*, for heresy damneth a man no less than idolatry and witchcraft. See expressly St. Paul, Gal. v. 19—21.

unity of the Catholic church, or so long as any heretical and schismatical iniquity remaineth in him."

45. In like manner, St. Cyprian saith, "Whosoever and what kind of person soever a man be, a true Christian he is not, unless he be in the church of Christ." And in another place:* "He belongeth not to the reward of Christ, who forsaketh the church of Christ; he is an alien, a profane person, he is an enemy; he cannot have God for his Father, who hath not his church for his mother," &c. "If any man could escape out of the ark of Noah, he also may escape who is out of the church of God."

46. "A man," saith St. Augustine,† "cannot obtain his salvation but in the Catholic church; he may have all but salvation; he may have the sacraments, he may sing Hallelujah, he may answer Amen, he may believe the gospel, he may be baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, but nowhere can he have salvation but in the Catholic church." The like hath he, Epist. 50, ad Bonifacium, tom. 9, de Symbol, lib. 4, cap. 20.

47. And yet more expressly: "Let us suppose," saith this light of the church,‡ "that a man were chaste and continent; not covetous, but full of hospitality; no enemy to any man; not contentious, but patient and quiet, sober and frugal; not envying any, but withal were an

* De Simplicit. Prelat. and Epist. 64, ad Pomp. Theod. lib. 4, Hist. c. 17, reporteth of St. Basil the Great, that being by the persecutors solicited to relent, he answered resolutely, "that such as are instructed in divine doctrine, do not suffer any syllable of the divine decrees to be depraved, but for defence of it, if need require, willingly embrace any kind of death."

† Sermo ad Cæsariensis Ecclesiæ Plebem vi. and tom. vii. Concione ad Plebem de Emerita post Medium.

‡ Lib. 4, contra Donatist. 18. See also Epist. 152.

heretic; there can be no doubt made but for that only that he is an heretic, he shall not possess the kingdom of heaven, but the wrath of God remaineth on him."

48. I conclude, therefore, with renowned Lactantius,* "It is the Catholic church only that keepeth the true worship of God; this is the fountain of truth; this is the house of faith; this is the temple of God, into which whosoever doth not enter, or out of which whoever doth depart, he is an alien, and estranged from the hope of everlasting life and salvation."

49. Now, as touching the perpetual succession, both personal and doctrinal, of our bishops, because it is a matter often and exactly handled by our divines and ecclesiastical histories, and would exceed my intended brevity, I will forbear to set down their names and times of their reign in the church of God; he that desireth further satisfaction may peruse the authors here cited in the note.†

50. Briefly for the space of four hundred years after

* Lib. 4, Divin. Inst. cap. ult. St. Jerome de Scri. Eccles. styleth him "Lacteum Eloquentiæ Flumen:" he lived in the year of Christ 290 (died in 325), and was chosen to teach Crispus, son of Constantine the Great.

† See Aubert Miræus's Notitia Episcopat.; Baronius's Annals; Dr. Saunders's Monarchy; Genebrand's Chronol.; Stapleton's Defence of Ecclesiastical Succession; Bellarmin de Rom. Pontif.; Dr. Harpsf. Hist. Eccles. Angl.; Prudential Balance; Three Convers.; Demochares de Instit. Miss.; and to prevent all exception, Mr. Goodwin, Protestant bishop of Hereford, in his Catalogue of the Bishops of England, since the first planting of Christian religion in this island, which, though begun in, and continued since the apostles' times, to the reign of Henry VIII. amongst the English and Britons, yet hath he not there named any known and acknowledged Protestant bishop before Thomas Cranmer, in the reign of the said King Henry VIII., or noted any change or innovation of religion to Protestancy among so many bishops before the time of Cranmer.

Christ, it is granted by learned Protestants* that there was no change of faith in the Roman bishops.

51. Also, St. Gregory and St. Augustine, a monk of St. Benedict's Order, planted here in England our now Roman faith† and religion, which neither king nor bishop of Canterbury altered before Henry VIII. and Cranmer, as all histories and monuments of our country bear witness.

52. Wherefore, the religion we now profess can be no innovation or change in us nor the Roman bishops, with whom therein we communicate, seeing we are certainly known‡ and acknowledged to have continued in what we now profess from this present to the time of St. Gregory, that is, at the least, a thousand years.

53. Considering, also, that four hundred and forty years after Christ (that is, unto the time of St. Augustine the Great), the Roman bishops retained inviolably the doctrine received from the apostles, as before was confessed by our adversaries; if since that time we have revolted and made such innovation in faith as Protestants do pretend,§ this

* Whitta. lib. de Antichrist. contra Saunders, p. 35; Renold's Confer. p. 41; and expressly, Calvin, Instit. lib. 4, cap. 2, sec. 3, saith, "It was a matter out of all doubt, that from the beginning even until that time (namely, of St. Augustine), nothing was changed in doctrine, &c., amongst the Roman bishops.

† See this confessed not in general only, but in particular, now controverted doctrines by Dr. Humph. 2nd Part of Jesuitism, p. 627; Magdeburg. cent. vi. cap. 10, col. 448; Osiand. cent. vi. p. 29; Bale Catal. Scrip. Britt. cent. xiv. p. 117.

‡ See before immediately, number 51, with notes there, which you may find expressed at large in the Protestant Apology, tract. 1, sec. 1, and tract. 1, sec. 2. Mr. Nappier saith, "The pope and his clergy possessed the outward visible church twelve hundred years," upon Revelat. cap. 11, p. 161.

§ Namely, touching the law and gospel, faith and works, free-will and grace, prayers for the dead, prayer to saints, real presence, adoration of the sacrament, sacrifice of the mass, books of Scripture, &c.

great alteration must necessarily fall out during the hundred and sixty years current between St. Augustine and St. Gregory.

54. Now God having placed watchmen in the church,* bishops, pastors, and teachers, who neither day nor night shall cease or be silent, but shall resist all false doctrine† even with open reprehension; and seeing, furthermore, that this ‡ resistance hath in all ages been accordingly made, even to errors and heresies of less note: ["Heretical impiety," saith St. Leo, "could never so lie hid, but that it was by our holy fathers both observed and legally condemned," Serm. contra Eutych.]

55. These things, I say, supposed and duly considered, if any such change or alteration had been made by any of the Roman bishops during these hundred and sixty years, only questionable, then § assuredly some other bishops, pastors, and teachers would have noted them,‖

* Isaiah lxii. 6: "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night."

† Dr. Fulk's Answer to a Counterfeit Catholic, p. 11, 92.

‡ In clear proof hereof, see the Ecclesiastical Histories and Ancient Fathers: St. Irenæus and Epiphanius adversus Hæreses; St. Augustine and Philast. Catalogues of Heresies; Genebrand, Gualter, Prateolus, Arnoldus, Pontac. Chronology, &c.

§ For it was expressly so commanded by St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 3—5, and perpetually observed in the church.

‖ As they did in or immediately before the space questioned; the denial of prayer and sacrifice for the dead in Aerius, censured by St. Augustine, Heres. 53, and Epiphanius, Heres. 75; honour of relics in Vigilantius, censured by St. Jerome, contra Vigilant.; equality of merits in Jovinian, by St. Jerome, contra Jovin; denial of the lawful use of images in Zenaias. See Nicophor's Hist. Eccles. lib. 16, cap. 27; denial of free-will in the Manichees, condemned by St. Jerome, lib. adver. Pelag.; denial of the necessity of children's baptism in the Pelagians, by Innocentius, in the Rescrip. ad Concil. Milevit., &c.

some council or synod, provincial, national, or œcumenical, would have condemned them and refused their communion.

56. Whereas, even during that mean space before mentioned, the Roman bishops were not only not impeached or opposed for any such change or innovation, but, on the contrary, the bishops, both in the eastern and western church, did communicate with them as with St. Leo the Great, the Council of Chalcedon, and so with Hormisda, Hilary, Damasus, Innocentius, &c., the most eminent churches of the Christian world, as is put beyond dispute by the writers and fathers of that time. See Baronius's Annals of those hundred and sixty years questionable. Wherefore, doubtless, no change or innovation was made then by the Roman bishops, and so our faith is concluded, by perpetual continuance, one and the same with that of the precedent ages, especially considering that Mr. Nappier, upon the Revelations, cap. 2, p. 161, acknowledgeth, that "our religion and clergy reigned universally even twelve hundred years without any debateable contradiction;" that is, sixty years within that compass of time before mentioned, wherein learned Protestants acknowledge the faith and doctrine planted by the apostles to have remained in the Church of Rome without change. Sebast. Franc. before alleged, number 37, alloweth fourteen hundred years.

Lastly, the religion we now profess is the same with that which St. Augustine (a monk of St. Benedict's order) planted here in England* and confirmed by miracles.†

* See before, number 51, note †.

† St. Gregory in Reg. lib. 2, Epist. 30, Indict. 1; St. Bede's Hist. Angli. ib. 2, cap. 2, 3.

Now Augustine* differed not in substantial points from the ancient Britons (unless you will say the difference in observing the feast of Easter was a substantial point, where still the Protestants acknowledge the error to have been on the Britons' side); neither had they at St. Augustine's coming abandoned the faith which they had first received from the apostles and disciples of Christ; ours, therefore, in substantial points, is the same with the doctrine of the apostles, holy, catholic, apostolic.

Wherefore be pleased to take into your consideration the lamentable and most dangerous estate wherein you now remain, out of communion with God's church, and in Corah's condition. Suffer not yourself to be deluded with those false, pernicious opinions, viz. that errors not directly opposite to the ground of faith cannot separate you from the true church, or that Protestants differ not from Roman Catholics in fundamental points of religion.

All errors against faith are damnable, if either yourself do, or consent to those who do, maintain them† obsti-

* Mr. Speed, lib. 17, cap. 18, p. 133, saith, "Only in ceremonies they dissented".(namely, Augustine and the Britons): Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 463, saith, "The Britons never forsook their faith for any false preaching or torment." See also Fulk's Counterf. Catho. p. 44; Barlow's Defen. of Protes. Art. p. 21; Bale's Pageant of Popes.

† "They who, in the church of Christ," saith St. Augustine, "do maintain any unsound or wicked doctrine, and admonished to believe aright, do notwithstanding contumaciously resist, and will not amend their pestiferous and wicked opinions, but persist to defend them, they are heretics," St. Aug. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 18, cap. 51, alleged also to this purpose by St. Thomas, Prince of Divines, 1a. 2dæ. Quest. xi. art. 2, § Sed cont. Also Dr. Cowell, a learned Protestant, affirmeth, "that they are heretics, who gainsay some articles of our faith." Cowell Examin. p. 199. And observe, that he requires not the article to be fundamental, but some or any article of our faith.

nately against the true church. See Aug. Enarr. in Psal. 130.

For God is equally true in the* least and greatest mysteries of our faith which he revealeth, and by his church propoundeth† to our belief, in the pertinacious denial whereof, heresy, as before we declared, doth properly consist.

And therefore, in the apostolic and primitive times‡

* All articles of faith are revealed by God, and who denieth obstinately the least, doth not believe that to be true which God revealeth, and so loseth his faith, which is grounded on this, that whatsoever God revealeth, and by his church propoundeth to our belief, we ought undoubtedly to embrace. "A little leaven," saith the apostle, "leaveneth, or corrupteth, the whole lump." 1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 20. Numbering schisms and sects of heresies amongst "the works of the flesh," he concludeth, that "they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God," without exception of great or small heresy. Which truth is yet further acknowledged by Luther himself, expressly affirming, "that to deny God in one article is to deny him in all; for he is not divided into many, but he is all in every one, and one in all." Luth. tom. vii. contra Sacram.

† "Propoundeth by his church," &c. For God hath ordained his church, as the means whereby he propoundeth his word, the proper object of our faith, and therefore though Turks and Jews believe one God, yet because they do not believe that truth for the authority of God so propounding it by his church, they have not therein true supernatural faith. "I," saith Augustine, "would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the Catholic church did not move me thereunto." Aug. cont. Epist. Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti.

‡ For example, Simon Magus was condemned by the apostles for holding that spiritual gifts may be bought with money, Acts viii. 20. The Nicholaites, for teaching that it was lawful to eat of meats sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication, Rev. ii. 15. Also those whom St. Paul charged with the doctrine of devils, for prescribing to abstain from some meats as unclean, and from marriage as unlawful, 1 Tim. iv. 1—5. In like sort the Chiliasts, who taught that the saints should reign on earth with Christ 1,000 years after the resurrection, Euseb. lib. 3, Hist. Eccl. cap. 39; the Quarto-decimans, who held that Easter-day ought to be kept the fourteenth day of the moon,

many were condemned as heretics, though their errors were not directly opposite to the ground and foundation of religion; that is, belief in the blessed Trinity, and Christ the Mediator.

Now, that Protestants differ from us in fundamental points of religion is a matter so manifest, that I wonder any man, knowing and believing the common grounds of Christianity, can rest doubtful thereof; for we differ, almost contradictorily, in the rule of faith,* books of Scripture, number and nature of sacraments, possibility of keeping the commandments of God, and the external sacrifice and proper priesthood of the church, &c.

Moreover, Protestants maintain sundry heresies† con

Aug. Heres. 19; with innumerable others, as the Helvidians, Jovinians, Vigilantians, Aquarians, Donatists, &c. And the reason is evident, for as one act of fornication, with any whosoever, depriveth a man of chastity, one act of stealing depriveth him of justice, &c., so an act of heresy against any article of faith depriveth a man of the supernatural gift of faith, as I said before.

* "We hold traditions of the word of God unwritten to belong to the rule of faith; they reject them. We believe as canonical scripture, the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Toby, Judith, two first of Maccabees, which Protestants deny. We hold seven sacraments, they but two; we believe that Christ in Spirit descended into hell, which article is denied, and writ against by chief Protestants." See Willet's Limbo-Mastix. "We believe by the article of the Catholic church, that church which is in communion of faith with the bishop of Rome, but they hold the Roman church Antichristian; we believe the remission of sins by the sacraments of baptism and penance, they by faith alone; we hold the commandments, by the help of God's grace, may and have been kept; they hold they cannot." Calvin, lib. 2, Instit. cap. 7, number 15; Antidot. Conc. Trident. Sess. 6, cap. 2.

† As denial of prayer and sacrifice for the dead, accounted as an heresy in Aerius by St. Augustine, Hæres. 53, Epiphan. Hæres. 75. The denial of prayer to saints, and veneration of relics, with Vigilantius, condemned by St. Jerome, contr. Vigilant. The denial of honour to images, with Zenaias, See Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. lib. 16, cap. 27. Denial of free-will, condemned

demned in the primitive church and former ages; wherefore, by the verdict of ancient fathers* before alleged to that purpose, remaining obstinately therein, they are out of communion with the true church of God, and consequently cannot arrive to salvation, except they repent of those and other their errors.

Hearken, therefore, to the Holy Ghost, strictly commanding you, under pain of God's wrath, to separate yourself from heretical assemblies, and all participation of their doctrine or pretended worship: "Come not ye unto Galgal, neither go up to Bethaven," places where schismatical sacrifices were offered, Hosea iv. 15. "Come out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sin, and that ye receive not of her plagues," Rev. xviii. 4; also Rom. xvi. 17, "I beseech you, my brethren, mark them diligently which cause divisions (or schisms) and offences (scandals), contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them," 2 Thess. iii. 6; "We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother who walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition (or doctrine) which he received of us;" also, 1 Tim. vi. 3—6, "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to whole-

in the Manichees by St. Jerome, Præm. lib. cont. Pelag.; St. Aug. de Fide, cont. Manich. Denial of the necessity of children's baptism, with the Pelagians; see Innocent Rescript. ad Concil. Milvitan.; St. Aug. Hæres. 88; and contra Jul. Pelag. lib. 2, cap. 7. Denial of reservation of the blessed sacrament, with the Anthropomorphites; see St. Cyril ad Cœlosyr. Confessed by Peter Martyr, against Gardiner, Objec. 217. The denial of vowed chastity, with Jovinian, Jerome cont. Jovin. Denial of the perpetual visibility of the church, and the continuance thereof, with the Donatists, Aug. de Unitat. Eccles. cap. 12, Epist. 170, &c.

* See before, numbers 43—48.

some words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, ... From such withdraw thyself." In like manner, Tit. iii. 10, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject : *devita, avoid,* knowing that he that is such, is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself"—*proprio judicio,* "by his own judgment." But most expressly, 2 Cor. vi. 14, &c., "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? What communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with the infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God... Wherefore, come out from among them and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and I will receive you." Thus far that blessed apostle, who, though he spake immediately of heathenish idolatry, yet his words are to be understood also of schism and heresy, which all men confess to be spiritual idolatry, worshipping that for divine which in itself is false, and the idol of their own imaginations; so expressly doth St. Jerome affirm upon Ezek. viii.; Hosea ii.; Zach. xiii.; Dan. v.; and St. Aug. upon Jos. xxvii.

Ponder, I beseech you, with mature deliberation, that dreadful judgment of God against Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who worshipped the same God with Moses, and dissented not from him in fundamental points of faith and religion, but only by schism and usurpation rose up against him and Aaron, taking upon them without lawful calling the office of priesthood, as from what has been said you cannot but have reason to fear, if not perfectly

convinced, the ministers do with whom you communicate.*

And yet God expressly saith to his people, Numb. xvi. 21, "Separate yourselves from amidst the congregation, that I may consume them in a moment;" and v. 24, "Get ye up from about the tabernacle of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram;" also v. 26, "Depart from the tents of these wicked men, lest ye be consumed in all their sins." And that none might conceive the offence of communion with schismatics and heretics to be small and not regardable, he poured out his indignation upon them, for an example and dreadful warning to all in like case, for as the text saith, v. 31, "The ground clave asunder that was under them, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their families, and all the men that were with them, and all their goods;" and v. 35, "There came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense." Yea, the morrow following, when the people murmured against Moses for the severe punishment of these schismatics, the wrath and plague of God light amongst them, and there died fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides them that perished with Corah, v. 49. Furthermore, that none might think this punishment to have been in regard of these

* That Protestant ministers are without all lawful calling, see at large Champney's book of Vocation of Ministers; Prud. Ball. lib. 2, cap. 10; Harding's Detection of Jewel, Title of Succession. See also before, from numbers 30 to 40. For if they claim extraordinary vocation, let them shew us their miracles in proof thereof; if ordinary, let them name so much as one Protestant bishop before Cranmer, from whom they can derive it. And our bishops neither did, nor could give them authority to minister the Protestant word and sacraments, for they never did receive any such power from their predecessors.

schismatics alone, read in the same place, v. 38—40, where God ordained a perpetual remembrance thereof to remain at the altar, as a dreadful memorial from generation to generation, to the end that others warned thereby may beware of schism and participation with schismatics, much more of communion with heretics.

Give me leave, therefore, once again to entreat, nay, to importune you by the tender mercies of God, and that precious blood, the price of our redemption, no longer to delay, but hasten out of Babylon, and return speedily to the bosom of God's church. Let not the scandalous lives of some few, whether in former or in these present times, banish you from communion with the true catholic church, out of which your soul cannot be safe; rather take into consideration that in heaven also there was a Lucifer, with millions of angels, his accomplices; in paradise but one precept for two, and both transgressors; in the ark of Noah creatures clean and unclean; with Abel a Cain, a Cham with Sem; with Jacob an Esau; and amongst twelve elected by Christ, one, as truth itself affirmed,* was a devil. In which respect, in the gospel Christ's church is compared to a field,† producing corn with tares; to a net comprehending good and evil fish; a house in which as there are vessels of gold and silver, so are there others of wood and earth; with five wise virgins, as many foolish; and at the marriage feast some without their nuptial garments of charity; and our Saviour himself, to take off the calumny from his church, for defects in some of his pastors, expressly denounceth their authority, and exacteth obedience thereunto, though their living be

* John vi. 71. † Matt. xiii. 25; Luke v. 3.

not conformable to their doctrine, Matt. xxiii. 2: "Upon the chair of Moses sit the scribes and pharisees; therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not after their works, for they say and do not." "In that order of bishops," saith St. Augustine,* of the Roman See, "albeit some Judas, albeit some traitor should enter, yet should it nothing prejudice the church and innocent Christians, for whom our Lord providing said, 'What they prescribe you do, but do not according to their works.'"

Hasten, therefore, worthy Sir, and hearken to the wisdom of God, advising you to cut off delays† and run whilst the light of life serveth, lest the darkness of night overtake you, "for night will come, when no man can work."‡ There is always danger in delay, and in business of this nature the greatest; for custom of sin thereby will grow strong, our forces weak; old diseases are hardly cured, new impediments daily increase, life decreaseth and death approacheth with a dreadful account and God's indignation.

Entertain therefore, dear Sir, while you have time and opportunity, that wholesome counsel of the Holy Ghost, admonishing § "not to delay your conversion to God, nor to defer it from day to day, for his wrath will come upon a sudden, and in time of revenge he will destroy you." And lest you should imagine this time further off, he proclaimeth ‖ to us all, the day of destruction is near at hand, and times make haste to be present; wherefore mercifully and lovingly he inviteth¶ us "to seek God while he may be found, and call upon him while he is

* St. Aug. Epist. 165. † John xii. 45. ‡ John ix. 4.
§ Eccles. v. 8. ‖ Deut. xxxii. 35. ¶ Isaiah lv. 6.

near;" otherwise, he that now standeth at the door * of our heart, knocking with so many godly inspirations, will at length, through our obduration, be forced to say, as he doth by Solomon,† "I called, and you refused; I stretched out my hands, and there was none that regarded; you have despised all my counsels, and have neglected my reprehensions: I will laugh in your destruction, and will scorn when that shall come upon you which you feared, when sudden calamities shall rush upon you, and destruction as a tempest shall be at hand. Then shall they invocate me, and I will not hear; in the morning they shall rise and shall not find me, for they have hated discipline and have not received the fear of the Lord; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices; the aversion of little ones shall kill them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them; but he that feareth me shall rest without terror, and enjoy abundance without fear of evil." Hear him therefore now, and observe his commandments, that you may possess him in time and eternity.

* Apoc. iii. 20. † Prov. i. 24—26, &c.

COPIES OF

TWO PAPERS

WRITTEN BY THE LATE

KING CHARLES II.

OF BLESSED MEMORY.

THE FIRST PAPER.

The discourse we had the other day, I hope, satisfied you in the main "that Christ can have but one church here upon earth;" and I believe that it is as visible as that the Scripture is in print, that none can be that church but that which is called the Roman Catholic church. I think you need not trouble yourself with the entering into that ocean of particular disputes, when the main, and in truth the only question is, where that church is which we profess to believe in the two creeds? We declare there to believe one catholic and apostolic church, and it is not left to every fantastical man's head to believe as he pleases, but to the church, to whom Christ left the power upon earth to govern us in matters of faith, who made these creeds for our directions. It were a very irrational thing to make laws for a country and leave it to the inhabitants

to be the interpreters and judges of those laws; for then every man will be his own judge, and by consequence no such thing as either right or wrong. Can we, therefore, suppose that God Almighty would leave us at those uncertainties as to give us a rule to go by, and leave every man to be his own judge? I do ask any ingenuous man whether it be not the same thing to follow our own fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any man shew me where the power of deciding matters of faith is given to every particular man. Christ left his power to his church, even to forgive sins in heaven, and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after his resurrection; first, by his apostles in their creeds, and many years after by the council at Nice, where that creed was made that is called by that name, and by the power which they had received from Christ, they were the judges even of the Scripture itself many years after the apostles, which books were canonical and which were not; and if they had this power then, I desire to know how they came to lose it, and by what authority men separate themselves from that church? The only pretence I ever heard of was, because the church has failed in wresting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true sense and meaning of it, and that they have imposed articles of faith upon us which are not to be warranted by God's word. I do desire to know who is to be judge of that, whether the whole church, the succession whereof has continued to this day without interruption, or particular men who have raised schisms for their own advantage.

This is a true copy of a paper I found in the late King my brother's strong box, written in his own hand.

J. R.

THE SECOND PAPER.

It is a sad thing to consider what a world of heresies are crept into this nation; every man thinks himself as competent a judge of the Scriptures as the very apostles themselves; and it is no wonder that it should be so, since that part of the nation which looks most like a church dares not bring the true arguments against the other sects for fear they should be turned against themselves, and confuted by their own arguments. The Church of England, as it is called, would fain have it thought they are the judges in matters spiritual, and yet dare not say positively there is no appeal from them; for either they must say that they are infallible (which they cannot pretend to), or confess that what they decide in matters of conscience is no farther to be followed than it agrees with every man's private judgment. If Christ did leave a church here upon earth, and we were all once of that church, how, and by what authority, did we separate from that church? If the power of interpreting of Scripture be in every man's brain, what need have we of a church or churchmen? To what purpose then did our Saviour, after he had given his apostles power to bind and loose in heaven and earth, add to it, "that he would be with them even to the end of the world?" These words were not spoken parabolically or by way of figure; Christ was then ascending into his glory, and left his power with his church even to the

end of the world. We have had, these hundred years past, the sad effects of denying to the church that power in matters spiritual without an appeal. What country can subsist in peace or quiet where there is not a supreme judge, from whence there can be no appeal? Can there be any justice done where the offenders are their own judges, and equal interpreters of the law with those who are appointed to administer justice? This is our case here in England in matters spiritual: for the Protestants are not of the Church of England as it is the true church from whence there can be no appeal, but because the discipline of that church is conformable at that present to their fancies, which as soon as it shall contradict or vary from, they are ready to embrace or join with the next congregation of people, whose discipline or worship agrees with their own opinion at that time, so that according to this doctrine there is no other church nor interpreter of Scripture but that which lies in every man's giddy brain. I desire to know, therefore, of every serious considerer of these things, whether the great work of our salvation ought to depend upon such a sandy foundation as this? Did Christ ever say to the civil magistrate (much less to the people), "that he would be with them to the end of the world?" or did he give them the power to forgive sins? St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "Ye are God's husbandry; ye are God's building; we are labourers with God;" this shews who are the labourers, and who are the husbandry and building. And in this whole chapter, and in the preceding one, St. Paul takes great pains to set forth that they, the clergy, "have the Spirit of God, without which no man searches the deep things of God;" and he concludes the chapter with this verse: "For who hath known

the mind of the Lord, that he might instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ." Now, if we but consider, in human probability and reason, the powers Christ leaves to his church in the gospel, and St. Paul explains so distinctly afterwards, we cannot think that our Saviour said all these things to no purpose; and pray consider on the other side, that those who resist the truth, and will not submit to his church, draw their arguments from implications and far-fetched interpretations, at the same time that they deny plain and positive words, which is so great a disingenuity as it is not almost to be thought that they can believe themselves. Is there any other foundation of the Protestant church, but that, if the civil magistrate please, he may call such of the clergy as he thinks fit for his turn at that time, and turn the church either to presbytery, independency, or indeed what he pleases? This was the way of our pretended Reformation here in England; and by the same rule and authority it may be altered into as many more shapes and forms as there are fancies in men's heads.

(This is a true copy.)

J. R.

A Brief Account of particulars occurring at the happy death of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles II. in regard to religion, faithfully related by his then Assistant, Mr. J. Hudleston.

Upon Thursday, the 5th of February, 1685, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, I was sent for in haste to the Queen's back-stairs at Whitehall, and desired to bring with me all things necessary for a dying person; accordingly I came, and was ordered not to stir from thence till further notice. Being thus obliged to wait, and not having had time to bring along with me the most holy sacrament of the altar, I was in some anxiety how to procure it. In this conjuncture, the Divine Providence so disposing, Father Bento de Lemos, a Portuguese, came thither, and understanding the circumstance I was in, readily proffered himself to go to St. James's and bring the most holy sacrament along with him.

Soon after his departure, I was called into the King's bedchamber, where, approaching to the bedside, and kneeling down, I in brief presented his Majesty with what service I could perform for God's honour and the happiness of his soul at this last moment on which eternity depends. The King then declared himself, that he desired to die in the faith and communion of the holy Roman Catholic church; that he was most heartily sorry for all the sins of his life past, and particularly for that he had deferred his reconciliation so long; that through

the merits of Christ's passion he hoped for salvation; that he was in charity with all the world; that with all his heart he pardoned his enemies, and desired pardon of all those whom he had anywise offended; and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all sin.

I then advertised his Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the sacrament of penance, which advertisement, the King most willingly embracing, made an exact confession of his whole life with exceeding compunction and tenderness of heart; which ended, I desired him, in farther sign of repentance and true sorrow for his sins, to say with me this little short act of contrition:

"O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the sins of my life past for the love of Thee, whom I love above all things; and I firmly purpose by thy holy grace never to offend Thee more. Amen, sweet Jesus, amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my soul; mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy." This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice, which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him absolution.

After some time thus spent, I asked his Majesty if he did not also desire to have the other sacraments of the holy church administered to him: he replied, "By all means I desire to be partaker of all the helps and succours necessary and expedient for a catholic christian in my condition." I added, "And doth not your Majesty also desire to receive the precious body and blood of our dear Saviour, Jesus Christ, in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist?" His answer was this: "If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it." I then told him it would be brought to him very speedily, and desired his Majesty

that, in the interim, he would give me leave to proceed to the sacrament of extreme unction. He replied, "With all my heart." I then anoyled* him, which, as soon as performed, I was called to the door, whither the blessed sacrament was now brought and delivered to me.

Then, returning to the King, I entreated his Majesty that he would prepare and dispose himself to receive; at which the King, raising himself, said, "Let me meet my heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed:" but I humbly begged his Majesty to repose himself: God Almighty, who saw his heart, would accept of his good intention. The King then having again recited the forementioned act of contrition with me, he received the most holy sacrament for his viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable. The communion being ended, I read the usual prayers, termed the recommendation of the soul, appointed by the church for Catholics in his condition. After which the King desired the act of contrition, "O my Lord God," &c., to be repeated: this done, for his last spiritual encouragement I said:

"Your Majesty hath now received the comfort and benefit of all the sacraments that a good Christian, ready to depart out of this world, can have or desire. Now it rests only that you think upon the death and passion of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, of which I present unto you this figure (shewing him a crucifix); lift up, therefore, the eyes of your soul and represent to yourself your sweet Saviour here crucified, bowing down his head to kiss you; his arms stretched out to embrace you; his body and members all bloody, and pale with death, to redeem you;

* To anoint with *oil*.

and as you see him dead and fixed upon the cross for your redemption, so have his remembrance fixed and fresh in your heart; beseech him with all humility that his most precious blood may not be shed in vain for you; and that it will please him, by the merits of his bitter death and passion, to pardon and forgive you all your offences, and finally to receive your soul into his blessed hands; and when it shall please him to take it out of this transitory world, to grant you a joyful resurrection, and an eternal crown of glory in the next: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

So recommending his Majesty on my knees, with all the transport of devotion I was able, to the divine mercy and protection, I withdrew out of the chamber.

In testimony of all which, I have hereunto subscribed my name.

J. HUDLESTON.

A SUMMARY OF OCCURRENCES

RELATING TO THE

MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION

Of our late Sovereign Lord

KING CHARLES II.

After the Defeat of his Army at Worcester, in the year 1651.

Faithfully taken from the express personal testimony of those two worthy Roman Catholics, Thomas Whitgrave, of Moseley, in the County of Stafford, Esq.; and Mr. John Hudleston, Priest of the Holy Order of St. Bennet, the eminent instruments under God of the same Preservation.

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1688.

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To the end that future ages may be rightly informed, and duly sensible of the mercies and blessings of the Almighty, bestowed upon our late Sovereign Lord, of happy memory, King Charles II., and in him upon the whole nation, by the signal preservation of his sacred life and person from the hands of the rebels, after the defeat of his army at Worcester, we shall here, to the glory of God, the protector of princes, briefly set forth, with all plainness and sincerity, such particular passages and circumstances as occurred immediately before or during the time of the refuge and safety he found, in his greatest danger and exigence, at Mr. Whitgrave's house at Moseley.

Please therefore to know, that his Majesty's army being,

on Wednesday, the Third of September, 1651, wholly defeated at Worcester, his friends dispersed, and his enemies in full pursuit of their victory, the King, conducted by Colonel Charles Gyfford, and accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Derby, Lord Wilmot, Mr. Peter Street, and others, retired, on Thursday morning, to a house called White Ladies, then appertaining to Mrs. Cotton, widow, and now the inheritance of her son-in-law, Basil Fitzherbert, Esquire, in Staffordshire. There his Majesty changed his habit, cut his hair, and transformed himself into the dress of a country peasant. Thus disguised, he dismissed all his retinue, and committed his person to the fidelity of the Pendrells, poor Catholics, and labouring men, at or about White Ladies. With one of these Pendrells named Richard, the King spent the rest of the day in a neighbouring wood, and at night, attended only by the same Richard, set forward on his journey towards Madeley, in Shropshire, with intention to pass over the river Severn into Wales, for the recruit of his army; but arriving near to the river-side, he was informed by Mr. Wolfe, a Catholic at Madeley, that all the fords and passages were so strongly guarded and obstructed, there was no possibility of effecting his design; so that in this extremity he was forced, after having absconded all Friday in a certain barn of the said Mr. Wolfe, to come back the next night and regain his former asylum at another house of Mr. Fitzherbert, called Boscobel, tenanted by William Pendrell, brother to Richard, and adjoining to White Ladies. During this interval, those persons of quality, whom the King had dismissed from White Ladies, endeavoured, each one the best he could, to provide for his own safety. Amongst others, the Lord

Wilmot, conjecturing the open ways least obnoxious to suspicion, departed the same Thursday, in the forenoon, from White Ladies, and took along with him John, another brother of the Pendrells, as a guide into the common road between York and London; but he soon perceived himself disappointed of his expectations herein, for the whole country was alarmed; the enemy everywhere in pursuit; the avenues on all sides blocked up; and searches redoubled, by a promised reward of one thousand pounds to any one who would discover the King. Wherefore, my lord, justly despairing of success that way, took refuge in the house of one Mr. Huntbatch, of Brinford, near Moseley, about four miles from White Ladies, and sheltered his horses in a ruined barn of a poor cottager, not far from thence. But this place, affording him little or no hopes of rest or safety, he sent his guide, John, to Wolverhampton, in quest of some more secure receptacle. Here also, John, miscarrying, and frustrated wholly of all relief, in his return to my lord, by the singular conduct of divine providence, met with Mr. Hudleston at a place called Northcote. John knew both the person, religion, and character of Mr. Hudleston; and, therefore, with an assured confidence, related unto him how, the day before, the King's army had been utterly routed at Worcester; how, that very morning, the King himself, with other great persons, had come in private to White Ladies; how the King had been there disguised, had dismissed his followers, and was retired, he knew not whither, with his brother Richard; how he had endeavoured to help a brave person towards his escape into York and London road, but not being able to compass it, nor get any harbour for him, either at Hampton or elsewhere, he had left him at Mr. Huntbatch's, at Brin-

ford, near Moseley, where he would be most certainly discovered, unless Mr. Hudleston could prevail with his landlord, Mr. Whitgrave, to receive and conceal him in his house. Hereupon, Mr. Hudleston carried John to his chamber, imparted the affair to Mr. Whitgrave, who, touched with a sense of compassion and generosity, willingly undertook the case, however dangerous to himself, of the distressed lord's concealment and protection. Accordingly, Mr. Whitgrave, without further delay, waited upon my lord at Brinford, comforted and encouraged him by his promised assistance, and in fine, ordered matters so, that at ten o'clock in the night, my lord was safely brought to the retirement at Moseley; the only difficulty remaining was, how to dispose of my lord's two horses, a thing not to be disregarded, both because they would be necessary for my lord's farther progress, as also for that, either standing as they did, exposed in an open barn, or being brought to Mr. Whitgrave's stables adjoining, and obvious to the common street, their being detected would occasion a disclosing of the whole secret. To remedy this, Mr. Whitgrave sent a trusty person to Colonel Lane, at Bentley, about three miles from Moseley, acquainted him with my lord's arrival, and desired him, for some little time, to secure my lord's horses. The Colonel, who had formerly served under my lord in the wars, not only readily complied herein, but the same night gave my lord a private visit, and kindly invited him to his house as the more secure place, adding, that his sister, Mrs. Jane Lane, had procured a pass from the Governor of Stafford for herself and a servant to go to Bristow, by virtue of which pass, he might, as his sister's servant, get clear out of the country. My lord thanked him for his

civility, but said he was well satisfied with his present quarters, yet, withal, entreated the Colonel that he would keep the opportunity of his sister's pass, and retain his horses till he heard from him again. Thus they took leave of each other, and the Colonel returned home.

The next day, being Friday, his lordship sent John Pendrell to learn what was become of the King, and what had passed at White Ladies. John, returning the same night, brought word that the King went the night before, with his brother Richard, towards Severn, designing to pass over into Wales. Upon this information, my lord resolved to accept of the proffered benefit of Mrs. Lane's pass, and accordingly, next morning, being Saturday, he desired Mr. Whitgrave to send to Colonel Lane's for his horses. He dismissed John, in the afternoon, home to White Ladies; and the horses arriving at a certain place and time appointed, about midnight he took leave of Mr. Whitgrave, with all due expressions of gratitude and kindness, and so departed to Bentley.

Saturday.—And now my lord being gone, Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston entertained themselves with thoughts and solicitudes concerning the King. They had heard nothing of him all that day. The last intelligence brought by John from White Ladies on Friday was, that the King was gone, the night before, with Richard towards Severn, for Wales, but what success he had, or what was become of him since, they knew not. Wherefore, anxious between hopes and fears for his Majesty' safety, they resolved to go the next day, being Sunday, to White Ladies for further satisfaction. Whilst they were thus determined, and walking together very early on the back-side of the orchard on Sunday morning, they were surprised to see John Pen-

drell unexpectedly coming towards them, who, approaching them with a frightful countenance and much impetuosity, asked where is my lord? They told him that his lordship was gone. Then, says the poor man in great consternation, "We are all undone; for the King, finding the passages over Severn all guarded with soldiers, and no possibility of getting into Wales, is come back to Boscobel, and we know not what to do with him, or how to dispose of him. He hath been, for the most part since his return, concealed in a tree, called the Royal Oak, with Colonel Carloes, in Boscobel Wood; but searches are everywhere made, and the King is much dejected, having no hopes or prospect of redress: wherefore, understanding from me that I had left my Lord Wilmot here, he hath sent me to him with orders that he should take some speedy course for his removal and security with him." Upon this sad relation of John's, Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, deeply moved at the King's danger and calamity, having first offered to God their Sunday duty for his Majesty's safety, accompanied John to my lord at Bentley, where, being admitted to his lordship, it was resolved, upon mature deliberation, that my lord should come back about eleven at night to Moseley, in order to the waiting upon the King there, [and] that John should return to Boscobel, and from thence conduct his Majesty to a certain appointed station near Mr. Whitgrave's house, where Mr. Hudleston was to attend and receive him.

And what was thus designed was accordingly executed. My lord came, and was conducted by Mr. Whitgrave to his chamber; and some few hours after, the King, attended by John, and two or three more of the Pendrell brothers, arrived on a Mill-horse, near Mr. Hudleston's station,

where Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston both waited for him. Upon his arrival, he was immediately conducted to my lord, who, with much impatience, expected him in his chamber. The King being thus, by God's blessing, safely introduced into the house, after some private discourse, had between him and my lord, his lordship, addressing himself to Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, said, "Gentlemen, the person, whom you see here under this disguise, is both your master and mine, and the master to whom we all owe our duty and allegiance:" upon which, they both kneeling down, his Majesty admitted them to the honour of kissing his hand; then bidding them arise, told them that he had received from my lord so good a character of their loyalty and readiness to serve and assist him and his friends in those dangers, that he never would be unmindful of them or theirs. Immediately afterwards he asked, "Where is the private place which my lord speaks of?" They then shewed him the place of his retreat for avoiding surprisals, which having seen, entered into, and much approved of, he returned to his chamber. He then sat himself down on his bed-side, and Mr. Whitgrave presented him with a little biscake-bread and a glass of sack, which he took. While he thus sat, his nose bled. At this accident, Mr. Hudleston seemed concerned, but his Majesty said that it was usual with him; then, taking out of his pocket an old coarse clout, which the Pendrells had given him instead of a handkerchief, he received the blood into it. Mr. Hudleston then presented him with a fair handkerchief, and kept the bloody clout to himself. After this, the King went to the fireside, sat down in a chair, and gave Mr. Hudleston leave to pull off his stockings and shoes, stuffed within with white paper,

but yet so uneasy, wet, and full of gravel, that they had extremely inflamed and galled his feet.

Here it may not be unpleasant to some, if we briefly describe part of the rustic habits under which the King was disguised. He had on his head a long white steeple-crowned hat without any other lining than grease, both sides of the brim so doubled with handling, that they looked like two spouts; a leather doublet full of holes, and half black with grease above the sleeves, collar, and waist; an old green woodreve's coat, threadbare, and patched in most places; with a pair of breeches of the same cloth, and in the same condition, the flaps hanging down loose to the middle of his legs; hose and shoes of different parishes; the hose were grey, stirrups* much darned and clouted, especially about the knees, under which he had a pair of flannel riding-stockings of his own, with the tops cut off. His shoes had been cobbled with leather patches both on the soles and the seams, and the upper-leathers so cut and slashed, to adapt them to his feet, that they could no longer defend him either from water or dirt. This exotic and deformed dress, added to his short hair by the ears, his face coloured brown with walnut-tree leaves, and a rough, crooked thorn stick in his hand, had so metamorphosed him, he became scarcely discernible who he was, even to those that had been before acquainted with his person, and conversant with him.

Mr. Hudleston, having cleansed and dried his feet with warm cloths, put on new linen and worsted stockings, and accommodated him with slippers and other things necessary for his ease. His Majesty became thereby much re-

* Apparently used for what have more recently been denominated "*Galligaskins.*"—Ed.

freshed and cheerful, saying, he was now fit for a new march, adding also, if it should ever please God to bless him with ten or twelve thousand loyal and resolute men, he doubted not to drive these traitors out of his kingdom. After an hour or two's discourse with my Lord Wilmot, in deliberation of what seemed most expedient in the present conjuncture, it being now about five in the morning, his Majesty desired to repose on his bed, and the Pendrells, all but John, were dismissed home.

Monday.—Upon the King's first change of apparel at White Ladies, they had put him on a coarse patched harden* shirt, which, by its roughness, extremely incommoded him, and hindered his rest. This Mr. Hudleston observing, prevailed with him to accept of a new holland shirt of his own, and reserved for a memorial the coarse one to himself.

For the better security of his Majesty's retreat, Mr. Whitgrave sent forth all his servants betimes in the morning, each to their several employments abroad, except the cook-maid, a Catholic, who dressed their diet; and it was farther pretended that Mr. Hudleston had a cavalier friend or relation newly escaped from Worcester, who lay privately in his chamber, unwilling to be seen; so that this grand secret was imparted to none in the house but Mr. Whitgrave, Mr. Hudleston, and Mr. Whitgrave's mother, whom my Lord Wilmot presented to the King, and whom his Majesty graciously saluted and confided in.

At that time, Mr. Hudleston had with him, at Moseley, under his tuition, young Sir John Preston and two other youths, Mr. Thomas Palin, and Mr. Francis Reynolds,

* *Harden* is a provincial term in the north, signifying *coarse canvas.*—Ed.

nephews to Mr. Whitgrave. These he placed at several windows in the garrets, from whence they had a prospect of all the passages from all parts of the house, with strict charge given them to bring timely notice of any, whether soldiers or others, that came near the house; and herein the boys were as exact and vigilant as any sentinel could be, on his guard.

It is now Monday in the forenoon, and John is ordered to go to Bentley, with directions to Colonel Lane to send my lord's horses at night to Moseley, to convey his lordship back to Bentley. His Majesty eat constantly in Mr. Hudleston's chamber; Mr. Whitgrave himself handing up all the dishes from below-stairs to Mr. Hudleston's chamber-door, and Mr. Hudleston placing them on the table. When all things were brought up, old Mrs. Whitgrave was called in, and commanded to sit down and carve, whilst Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston waited behind the King.

This day his Majesty spent, partly in reposing and refreshing himself from the fatigues of his former journeys and hardships, and partly in recapitulating the late transactions, and taking a view of the present posture of affairs. He recounted his proceedings in Scotland, and described the methods of his march from thence to Worcester. He inquired how the gentlemen of the county were affected towards him, and sent Mr. Whitgrave to Wolverhampton to get intelligence of affairs. Sometimes he entertained himself at a window opening to the common street, from whence he had the deplorable sight of divers of his own poor soldiers, even of those whom he knew of his own regiment, the sad remains of Worcester fight. Some of these had in their hands pease in the straw, gathered from

the field-sides as they came along: others were eating cabbage-stalks and leaves which were thrown out of gardens into the highways, not daring so much as to beg for food: others, again, wounded and maimed, sought for relief at the door, whose sores, Mrs. Whitgrave, with great tenderness and charity, dressed.

At night, my Lord Wilmot's horses arrived, as was appointed, from Bentley, whither his lordship accordingly returned, with further directions that Colonel Lane should, the next night following, himself bring the horses back to Moseley, in order to the conveyance of his Majesty to Bentley, the King intending to take the benefit, proffered to my Lord Wilmot, of Mrs. Jane Lane's fore-mentioned pass, to quit the country.

The next day, viz. *Tuesday*, the King conversed, for the most part, with Mr. Hudleston; Mr. Whitgrave and his mother being employed in the discharge of their several duties towards his Majesty's accommodation and safeguard below-stairs. He was pleased to inquire how Roman Catholics lived under the present usurped government. Mr. Hudleston told him that they were persecuted on account both of their religion and loyalty; yet his Majesty should see that they did not neglect the duties of their church;[and]hereupon, he carried him up-stairs, and shewed him the chapel, little, but neat and decent. The King, looking respectfully upon the altar, and regarding the crucifix and candlesticks upon it, said, he had an altar, crucifix, and silver candlesticks of his own, till my Lord of Holland brake them, which, added the King, "he hath now paid for." His Majesty spent, likewise, some time in perusing Mr. Hudleston's books, amongst which, attentively reading a short manuscript written by Mr.

Richard Hudleston, a Benedictine Monk, entitled, "A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church," he expressed his sentiments of it in these positive words:—"I have not seen any thing more plain and clear upon this subject. The arguments here drawn from succession are so conclusive, I do not conceive how they can be denied." He also took a view of Mr. Turbervill's catechism, and said, "it was a pretty book, and he would take it along with him."

This afternoon, a party of the rebels unexpectedly came to search Moseley for Mr. Whitgrave: their approach was timely discovered, and a servant came running up-stairs towards the chamber where the King lay, and cried out, "Soldiers! Soldiers are coming!" Upon this alarm, the King was immediately conveyed by Mr. Whitgrave into the private place or receptacle before mentioned, which always stood open and ready, in case of contingencies, for his Majesty's retreat: and Mr. Whitgrave, to prevent farther searching, and thereby to secure the King from hazard and discovery, generously went down, and exposed himself to the sight and fury of the soldiers, who violently seized upon him, and would have hurried him to prison as a person engaged for the King in Worcester fight, but he assured them he had been a long time sick and infirm at home, and called in the neighbours to attest the same: wherefore, after much dispute, they at length let him go, and departed. When they had quitted the town, and not before, Mr. Whitgrave returned, and, with Mr. Hudleston, helped the King out of his confinement, and attended him in his chamber. Mr. Hudleston knew that the King was acquainted with his character and function, and consequently, also, with his being obnoxious to the sanguinary laws; and therefore

said, "Your Majesty is, in some sort, in the same condition with me now, liable to dangers and perils; but I hope God, that brought you hither, will preserve you here, and that you will be as safe in this place as in any castle of your dominions."

The King, addressing himself both to Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, replied, "If it please God I come to my crown, both you and all of your persuasion shall have as much liberty as any of my subjects."

It is now Tuesday night, and the hour of his Majesty's departure from Moseley approaches. At twelve o'clock, Mr. Whitgrave informed his Majesty that Colonel Lane attended at the place appointed, with the horses, to conduct him to Bentley. His Majesty then, with all the feelings of kindness and gratitude for their fidelity and indefatigable care, day and night, in his service, bid adieu to Mr. Whitgrave, his mother, and Mr. Hudleston: they, kneeling down, begged his Majesty's pardon for any mistakes they might have committed through ignorance or inadvertency in discharge of their duty. And thus, accompanied by Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, the King went down to the corner of the orchard where the Colonel waited with the horses. Mr. Hudleston, reflecting on the coldness of the season and thinness of his Majesty's disguise, humbly implored he would vouchsafe to accept of his cloak, for a protection from the severity of the weather. The King put it on; then, again, they all making their obeisance, and with tears imploring the Divine Goodness for his Majesty's safeguard, the King mounted and came that night to Bentley, from whence, by the means of the above-mentioned pass of Mrs. Lane, he escaped, under the notion of her servant, out of the

country and nation, remaining beyond the seas till the time of his no less wonderful restoration.

This is the sum of the signal preservation of the sacred life and person of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles II., at Moseley; wherein the Almighty hand of God is clearly manifest, not only in the preservation itself, but also in effecting the same by means so weak and disproportionable to the end. To Him be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

THOMAS WHITGRAVE.
JOHN HUDLESTON.

ERASTUS SENIOR:

BY

PETER TALBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,

IN REPLY TO

MR. MASON, DR. HEYLIN, & DR. BRAMHALL.

WITH AN APPENDIX, &c.

LONDON:

CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

1844.

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MEMOIR OF PETER TALBOT,

Archbishop of Dublin.

PETER TALBOT, the author of the following work, was the son of Sir William Talbot, an eminent lawyer in Ireland, and a member of the Irish branch of the noble family of that name. He was born in Ireland some time in the year 1620, and, after the usual course of elementary studies at home, was, in 1635, removed to Portugal, for the purpose of completing his education among the Jesuits. After a short period, he was permitted to join the society: he was subsequently occupied, for three years, in teaching humanity; and, at the termination of that time, was sent to Rome, where he finished his theological studies, and was finally ordained priest. From Rome he returned to Portugal, and thence removed to Antwerp, where he was engaged in teaching moral divinity for about twelve months. In 1651, he was employed by John the Fourth, king of Portugal, in a secret, and probably political, mission into Ireland. A few years later, by the direction of his superiors, he passed into England; but, feeling anxious to disengage himself from the obligations of his order, he applied for a dispensation, and, without

abandoning his affection either for the institute or for its members, was at length relieved from the vows of the society.

In the mean time, his connections and his manners had already introduced him to the favour both of the Duke of Buckingham and of the King. The circumstance, it was thought, was favourable to the cause of religion; and, the see of Dublin having become vacant, the Pope, in May, 1669, availed himself of the opportunity to place him in the archiepiscopal chair. Here, for some time, he was permitted to discharge the duties of his office in comparative tranquillity: but his opposition to the proceedings of the Irish Remonstrants, perhaps also his connection with his brother Richard, afterwards earl and duke of Tyrconnel, at length awakened the suspicions of the English Parliament; and an address from the Commons, in 1673, finally compelled the King to order his banishment from Ireland. On this occasion, he repaired, in the first instance, to Paris, with letters of recommendation both from Charles and from the Duke of York; but he subsequently appears to have removed to England, and to have taken up his abode in Cheshire. Here, however, he was attacked by a disease which speedily threatened to prove fatal; and, after much solicitation, he at length obtained a kind of tacit permission to return to his native country. But it was only to be pursued by fresh persecution. Among the extravagant details of Otes's forgery, it was said that the designs of the conspirators extended to Ireland; that Ormond, the lord lieutenant, was to

be assassinated; and that Archbishop Talbot, no less than his brother and some other individuals who were named, was deeply implicated in the plot. The charge was disproved by the impaired health of the prelate, and by his consequent inability to participate in the alleged proceedings of the accused. A warrant, however, was immediately signed for his apprehension; and an officer was despatched to put it in execution without delay. When the latter arrived, he found the archbishop at the seat of his brother, near Dublin, suffering from intensity of pain, and reduced to a state of weakness which rendered it unsafe to remove him. Under these circumstances, he was, for some time, permitted to remain on bail: but the indulgence, it was feared, might supply materials for misrepresentation to the enemies of the government; and, when Ormond, therefore, returned to Dublin (he had been inspecting the forts of Munster), the sick prelate was forthwith transported to the castle. He languished through the following year, and died in his prison, in 1680.

It has been said of Talbot, that he was more of a politician than of a divine. His works, however, which are numerous, are not without theological merit; and the present, which has escaped the notice of most of his biographers, certainly goes far to settle an important point of controversy between the Catholic and Protestant churches.

ERASTUS SENIOR,

SCHOLASTICALLY DEMONSTRATING THIS CONCLUSION,

That (admitting their Lambeth Records for true) those called Bishops here in England are no Bishops, either in Order or Jurisdiction, or so much as Legal.

WHEREIN IS ANSWERED TO ALL THAT HATH BEEN SAID IN VINDICATION OF THEM,

By Mr. Mason, in his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Dr. Heylin, in his *Ecclesia Restaurata*, or Dr. Bramhall (then called Bishop of Derry, now Primate of Armagh), in his last book, intituled,

"The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified."

WITH AN APPENDIX,

Containing Extracts out of Ancient Rituals, Greek & Latin,

for the Form of ordaining Bishops; and Copies of the Acts of Parliament quoted in the Third Part.

Printed in the Year 1662.

TO

THE READER.

The intent of this Treatise is only, of my charity to my friends and countrymen of the Protestant profession, to shew them this great defect in their church, the want of bishops, thereby to invite them into ours, which, even by the confession of her adversaries, wants them not.

And the intent of this Preface is only to note to them the greatness of this defect in their church, from the hideous consequences of it. For, if theirs be no bishops, either in order or jurisdiction (as this discourse undertakes to demonstrate), this will follow:

First, that theirs being no bishops *ordine*, they cannot validly ordain either bishop, priest, or deacon; and so they have none of these orders in their church, nor have had, since the death of those that were ordained by our bishops.

Secondly, that theirs being no bishops *jurisdictione*

(or pastors of cathedral churches), they cannot validly institute a pastor to any parochial church (for none but a pastor can institute a pastor); and so they have no pastors in their church, nor have had, since the outing of the Catholic bishops, parsons, and vicars, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Thirdly, that theirs is no true church, or member of the Catholic, for want of pastors; it (*these*) being an essential part of the Catholic Church.

Fourthly, that salvation cannot be had in their church, because no member of the Catholic, out of which no salvation.

Fifthly, that the belief they have of the Scriptures, Trinity, Incarnation, death and merits of Christ, and other mysteries of Christian religion, is no divine (or supernatural), but moral (or human) faith only, which cannot avail to eternal salvation; because they believe them *finally*, or in the last resolution of their faith into the witness or proponent of God's word to them, upon the testimony of preachers having no mission from God.

Sixthly, that the hope they have of remission of sins, of obtaining eternal beatitude by the merits of Christ, and of other evangelical promises, is no divine, but moral (or natural) hope only, which hath no efficacy to an eternal recompence: because it cannot be diviner than the faith is, upon which it is and must be grounded; and theirs is but human faith.

Seventhly, that their ministers having no power (because no priests) to remit sins, every time they receive the communion, since they committed mortal sin, they eat and drink it unworthily, and, consequently, to their own damnation;* because they presume to eat and drink of that which they believe to be "the body and blood of Christ, which is verily and truly received of the faithful,"† with a soul foul, and abominable to God with mortal sin, as it must needs be, because, since Christ instituted the word of priestly absolution, for the ordinary means of giving that grace (viz. when he said to his apostles,—"Whose sins you remit, they are remitted"‡), no mortal sin, committed after baptism, can be remitted but by that means (at least, *in voto*, which cannot be supposed in a wilful Protestant), which means (theirs being no priests) they cannot have in their church; and, for the same reason, at their death, they go away with all the sins upon their soul that ever they committed.

Eighthly, that their ministers having no power (because no priests) to consecrate Christ's body and blood, they live and die without ever once offering to God that sacrifice, which is the principal and most necessary act of divine worship under the New Testament (the oblation of the body and blood of Christ in remembrance of his death), and without ever once partaking of that flesh and

* Cor. xi. 29. † Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer.
‡ John xx. 22.

blood of his, of which he said—"Except ye eat and drink of it, ye shall have no life in you."*

Lastly, that every time any of their bishops presume to ordain, confirm, excommunicate, institute a parson or vicar, or exercise other act of the episcopal office; or any of their ministers to preach, baptize, celebrate public divine service, consecrate the eucharist, take confessions, give absolution, or exercise other act of priestly function, so often do they commit the heinous sin of sacrilege, in which the people are involved with them, so often as they do communicate with them in, or co-operate to, those sacrilegious presumptions.

* John vi. 54.

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CHAPTER XXI.

ERASTUS SENIOR.

CHAPTER I.

Proving the first part of the Conclusion, that Protestant bishops are no bishops ordine; *and urging the first Reason, the invalidity of the form whereby they were ordained.*

There is a bishop *ordine,* and there is a bishop *officio* (*jurisdictione* or *simpliciter*). A bishop *ordine* I call him, whose ordination was essentially valid, and so imprinted the episcopal character: as, *e. g.*, if one should be ordained in due matter and form, by one or more bishops having no jurisdiction, or should be ordained without a title, or should be consecrated bishop of some see, and afterwards resign it, or be deprived of it, or degraded:—and bishops in this sense are necessary to the ordaining of bishops, priests, and deacons; and consequently to the *interior* essential form of the church, as it consists in a hierarchy of order. A bishop *officio* I call him, who was validly confirmed and consecrated bishop or archbishop and pastor

of that see (or flock of clergy and people), whereof he is styled, as, *e. g.*, Canterbury, London, &c., and continues actual bishop of it, or of some other:—and bishops in this sense are necessary to the consecrating of archbishops and bishops of cathedral or metropolitical sees, and to the instituting of pastors to parochial churches; and consequently to the *exterior* essential form of the church, as it consists in a hierarchy of jurisdiction.

The first part, then, of my conclusion is, that Protestant bishops are no bishops *ordine*. My reasons are two:—

The first is, because the Protestant form for ordaining bishops is essentially invalid; for the essential form of ordination is some fit words, that is, words signifying the order given. So Protestants themselves: *Non verba quælibet huic instituto* (for making a priest, and there is the same reason of a bishop) *inservire possunt, sed quæ ad ordinis conferendi potestatem exprimendam sunt accommodata. . . . . . Dum per apostolum* (Tit i. 5) *in mandatis dedit Christus ut crearentur ministri, mandavit quoque, licet implicitè, ut inter ordinandum verba adhiberentur idonea, id est, talia, quæ dati tum ordinis potestatem complecterentur. Istiusmodi autem verba, quatenus datam potestatem denotant, sunt illius ordinis forma essentialis:**— and the reason is evident, because ordination being a sacrament (as Protestants themselves do and must confess,† for else it is no argument of the parties having any authority from God, more than another hath who is not ordained), that is, a visible sign of an invisible grace or power given by it, there must be some visible sign in it to signify the power given, for it cannot be a sign of what

* Mr. Mason, lib. ii. cap. 16, n. 6, p. 220.

† Id. lib. i. cap. 8, n. 2, p. 48, and D. Bramhall, p. 97.

it signifies not; and else, the same rite which ordains a man a deacon would ordain him priest and bishop. The essential matter, then, of episcopal ordination (which is imposition of hands) being a dumb sign, and common to divers orders (as bishops, priests, deacons), and to divers other graces, as confirming, curing the sick, &c., of necessity there must be some words joined with it, as its form, to interpret it, and to determine it to the grace of episcopal order, which no words can possibly do, but such as signify that order, either in the natural sense of the words, as, *e. g.*, "Be thou a bishop," or "I ordain thee a bishop," &c.; or by the institution of Christ, as these words, "I baptize thee," &c., which signify the grace of regeneration, because instituted by Christ to that end.

Now, in the Protestant form, there is no word signifying episcopal order, in the natural sense of the words. For this is their whole form: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness,"—in which is nothing but what may be said to any priest or deacon at his ordaining, nay, or to any child at confirming. Nor is there any colour of ground to say that these words signify it, *ex instituto Christi;* being there is no testimony in Scripture of such his institution: nor did he ever use these words but once to his apostles, when he gave them power of remitting sins, which is a power of priestly order only: nor do we find that any of the apostles ever used them; and it appears by all the rituals now extant (set forth by Morinus),* that no church, Greek or

* De Ordinat. Sacr. par. 2.

Latin, ever used these words for so much as any part of the ceremony for ordaining a bishop, for twelve hundred years; nor any of the Greek churches yet to this day; nor, therefore, doth the Roman church (which introduced them within these four hundred years) use them as an essential form, as shall be seen more anon.

CHAPTER II.

Replying to Dr. Bramhall's Answer.

To the foregoing objection he makes this answer (p. 222):—

Ans. If these words be considered singly, in a divided sense from the rest of the office, there is nothing either in our form or theirs which doth distinctly and reciprocally express episcopal power and authority. But if these words be considered conjointly, in a compounded sense, there is enough to express episcopal power and authority distinctly, and as much in our form as theirs. 1. The party is presented to be made a bishop. 2. The King's letters patents are read, requiring them to consecrate him bishop. 3. He takes his oath of canonical obedience as bishop elect. 4. The assembly is exhorted to pray for him before he be "admitted to that office" (that is, of a bishop). 5. In the Litany, he is prayed for as bishop elect, that he may have grace to "discharge that office" (of a bishop). 6. After the Litany, he is prayed for as

"called to the office of a bishop." 7. "The archbishop tells him he must examine him, before he admit him to that administration whereunto he is called;" and, after examination, prays for grace for him "to use the authority committed to him as a prudent and faithful steward. This authority can be no other than episcopal authority, nor this stewardship any other thing than episcopacy." 8. Lastly, after imposition of hands, with those words: "receive the Holy Ghost," &c., follows the tradition of the Bible into his hands, with an exhortation "to behave himself toward the flock as a pastor: all which implies episcopal authority."

Reply. This answer is either false, or impertinent, or a granting of the argument. For if his meaning be, that there are no words in their essential form that express it, this is a granting of the argument, which proceeded only upon their essential form; the other expressions of it, in the rest of the office, signifying nothing to the purpose, because not sacramental. For the conjunction of these words with those other being not formal (which is impossible betwixt words sacramental, as these are, and not sacramental, as all the other are), but only material or local (because contained within the same office), their signifying of it can contribute or co-operate nothing to make these signify it one whit the more, than they would do, taken singly by themselves. And so, if these, taken singly by themselves, do not signify it (as he confesses they do not), then, taken singly by themselves, they give it not (because they give no more than they signify); and, if taken singly by themselves, they give it not, then none is given, because none of the other can give any. To make this more plain: suppose all the other

expressions had been as they are, and the words of their essential form had been only these: "Be thou an officer in the church;" or "Take authority to some administration;" or "God make thee an honest man;" or some such like, mentioning no power of order in certain; will he say, they would be valid to make a bishop, by reason of their conjunction with the other expressions? I suppose he will not, because these signify no power given of a bishop. And if these would not, no more will those, for the same reason.

If his meaning be, that there are other words in the office, which express it, as intended, desired, prayed for, or supposed to be given, by imposition of hands, and those words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c., this is impertinent, because the argument proceeded only upon the not expressing it as *given*.

If his meaning be, that, though these words do not, yet they are joined with other words which express it as *given*, this is false, because none of those other expressions by him named do express it as given, or intended to be given, by any of themselves, but only by the imposition of hands and the words joined with it; for, in the seventh, which immediately precedes imposition of hands, the archbishop tells the party he must examine him before he admit him to that administration; and, after that, only prayer is made for grace, that he may discharge the office (meaning, after it should be committed to him) as he ought. And in the eighth, which immediately follows the words of ordination, he is only exhorted to behave himself as a good pastor.

If his meaning be, that these words do, in some part, express it as given, and the other in some other part, so

as, betwixt them, they make up an expression of it as given, this is also false, because these express it not at all, and none of the other express it as *given.*

So, take his answer in what sense you will, it is no answer to the objection.

CHAPTER III.

Answering Dr. Bramhall's Allegations for their Form; and, in this chapter, his first Allegation from Christ's example.

To prop up his answer, which he saw needed it, he adds to it three arguments for the validity of their form, but very weak ones all, as will appear by the answers.

1*st Arg.* You may except against Christ's own form of ordaining his apostles, if you will; but if that be a sufficient form, ours is (p. 225).

Ans. This supposes that he ordained them bishops by these words, "receive the Holy Ghost," which is a false supposition; for he ordained them not bishops by these or any other sacramental words; nay, 'tis most probable he made not one of them a bishop but St. Peter, and him he made by those words, *pasce oves meas.*

CHAPTER IV.

Answering his second Argument from the Roman Form.

2nd Arg. The form, used at the same time when hands are imposed, is the same both in our form and yours,—"Receive the Holy Ghost:" and so, as much in our form to express episcopal power as in yours; and if yours be valid, ours is (p. 222).

Ans. If, by *the same time*, he mean the same time physical (or *physicè loquendo*), I deny his consequence,—"therefore as much in our form as yours;" because their entire essential form is used at the same time when hands are imposed, which ours is not, as we shall see anon. If, by *the same time*, he mean the same time moral (or *moraliter loquendo*, that is, continued without any moral interruption), his antecedent is a mistake; for our form is not those words alone, *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, nay, perhaps they are no part of our essential form (for the reason given *supra*);* but those that are immediately joined with them, to wit, the prayer, *Propitiare Domine*, &c., anciently called the benediction,† which hath been our form ever since St. Peter's time, and, for the substance of it, is the same with that which is used over all the eastern churches, and which anciently, until within these four hundred years, our church used at the same (physical) time when hands were imposed: only, in latter ages, for the greater

* Cap. 1. † Conc. Car. iv. and Ordo Roman.

solemnity of the ceremony, and fuller signification of the grace of this sacrament (the giving of the Holy Ghost), she hath interposed those words, *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, and, perhaps, by way of prayer only; and appointed them, and them alone, to be pronounced at the same time when hands are imposed, and to be pronounced by all the bishops assisting; and then, one of the bishops only (as the ancient law and custom was)* to pronounce the words of ordination, viz.: *propitiare Domine supplicationibus nostris, et inclinato super hunc famulum tuum cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis, bene✠dictionis tuæ in eum infunde virtutem. Per, &c.* Anon, after which, follows the other prayer, anciently called *consecratio episcopi;* to wit, *Deus honorum omnium, &c., tribuas ei cathedram episcopalem ad regendam ecclesiam, &c.;* and after that, the anointing his head with holy chrism, with these words: *ungatur et consecretur caput tuum benedictione cœlesti, in ordine pontificali, in nomine Patris, &c.* After which, he is called *Episcopus* and *Consecratus;* till then, not, but *Electus* or *Consecrandus* only. So all these pertain to the integrity of our form, and are morally (which is sufficient to the unity of a moral compositum, as a sacrament is) joined with the imposition of hands; and in these you see is expressed sacerdotal, episcopal, and pontifical grace (or order). And so there is more in our form to express episcopal power, than in theirs.

* Uno super eum fundente benedictionem. Conc. Carth. iv. cap. 2.

CHAPTER V.

Answering his third Argument, from Cardinal Pole's Dispensation.

3rd Arg. King Edward the Sixth's form of ordination was judged valid, in Queen Mary's days, by all the Catholic bishops in parliament (1 & 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8), by Cardinal Pole, then apostolic legate in England, and by the Pope himself, Paul the Fourth. This he proves by three mediums:—

1st Medium. The parliament proposed to the Cardinal this article, "that all institutions to benefices might be confirmed;" and the Cardinal did confirm them, and the Pope ratified it. Now institutions could not be confirmed, except ordinations were, nor they, unless they were essentially valid. Ergo, they supposed them valid (pp. 63, 64).

Ans. Either he argues upon the institutions of such as had been ordained by the new form, and were returned to Catholic unity, and so had been re-ordained; or of such as had not been re-ordained. If the former, I deny his consequence; for their institutions might be confirmed without confirming their ordinations. If of the latter, I deny his antecedent; for the parliament proposed not, nor did the Cardinal promise, to confirm their institutions, there being no beneficed men then in the land, that had been ordained by the new form, but what were re-ordained in Queen Mary's time. And though it be sufficient for me,

being the respondent, to say it only, till he prove what he boldly saith, that "none of those ordained by King Edward's form were, in Queen Mary's time, compelled to be re-ordained;" yet, for more satisfaction to the reader, I shall give some reasons of my saying, viz. because

1. In the first parliament of Queen Mary (which began on the 5th of October, 1553, and ended on the 6th of December following, which was a twelvemonth before this Act), "all consecrations which had been made according to the ordinal of Edward VI. were declared (saith Doctor Heylin) to be void and null."* And if consecrations, surely much more ordinations; their form for ordaining priests being much more questionable than that for bishops.

2. In the beginning of March following, the bishops procured from the Queen an injunction to all the ordinaries in the realm, to execute certain articles recommended, whereof the fifteenth was this,—"Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister;"† upon which Master Fox makes this note,—"Ministers revolting to popery must, with their new religion, have new orders."‡ And these articles we may be sure were quickly and strictly put in execution by the bishops; and so Master Fox saith: "All such beneficed

* Eccles. Restaur., par. 2, fol. 38.

† Mr. Fox, Acts and Mon., par. 2, fol. 1464.

‡ In Indice.

men, which either were married or would constantly adhere to their profession, were removed, and others placed in their rooms."* And Doctor Godwin: *Omnes cujuscunque conditionis ecclesiastici, qui vel uxores repudiare nollent, vel pontificiam doctrinam postea tueri et defendere non promitterent, sacerdotiis hujusmodi unde ob pontificiam doctrinam pertinaciter defensam exturbatus quisquam fuisset, indiscriminatim universi exacti sunt*:† and Doctor Heylin: "For want of canonical ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical marriage on the other, we shall find such a general remove amongst the bishops and clergy, as is not anywhere to be paralleled in so short a time."

2nd Medium. The parliament in that article propounded to the Cardinal, that all ecclesiastical promotions might be confirmed. Now, under promotions ecclesiastical were comprehended holy orders (p. 64).

Ans. Under ecclesiastical promotions were not comprehended holy orders, but only promotions of like nature, as institutions to benefices; for so runs the article: "Institutions to benefices, and other promotions ecclesiastical;" that is, promotions giving jurisdiction, office, or dignity in the church, as deans, prebends, chancellors, archdeacons, &c.

3rd Medium. The Cardinal promised to receive in their orders all who had obtained orders, without any other exception or condition but this, that they were returned to Catholic unity; neither was there ever any one of them, who were then returned, compelled to be re-ordained. This doth clearly destroy all the pretensions of the Romanists against the validity of our orders (p. 65-67).

* Acts and Mon. par. 2, f. 1829. † History of Queen Mary.

Ans. This is triumphing afore the victory. For, first, that any of them, that were returned to Catholic unity, would presume to exercise any function of a priest or deacon, by virtue of order received by the new form, is not imaginable, considering how all the Catholic bishops at that time counted those ordinations null, so as there was no need to compel any of them to re-ordination. Secondly, the Cardinal did not promise to receive in their orders all who had obtained orders (*simpliciter*, as he alleges it), but only all who had obtained orders, essentially valid (for else they were no orders), but canonically invalid, because received from them who had no authority to ordain, but what they pretended from the King, as supreme head of the Church of England: for so are the Cardinal's words,—*Omnes personas, quæ aliquas impetrationes, dispensationes, gratias, et indulta, tam ordines, quam beneficia ecclesiastica, seu alias spirituales materias, prætensâ authoritate supremitatis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, licet nulliter, et de facto, obtinuerint.** And that this was his meaning, and the utmost of it, is manifest from divers other clauses in the Dispensation: as,

1. That, in the preamble, he describes the things he was desired, and did intend, to dispense with, to be things done, *perniciosissimo schismate vigente, per authoritatem parliamenti, et quæ licet ex sacrorum canonum institutis irrita declarari possent,* yet he might *de apostolicâ benignitate, eorum firmitati providere.*

2. That, for his motive to dispense with those things, he names the necessity of it to the public peace and quiet of

* The Dispensation is set out in the Act 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, cap. 8; and in Tierney's Dodd, ii. Appendix cxxxiii., et seq.

the whole realm,—*Quæ si ad alium statum quam in quo nunc sunt revocarentur, publica pax et quies universi regni turbaretur, et maxima confusio oriretur:* which was true of ordinations canonically null, because all, or well nigh all, in the land were so; but not of ordinations made by the new form, for that had been legally established by parliament (and the parliament took care for no other,—"institutions of benefices, and other promotions ecclesiastical, and dispensations made according to the form of the Act of Parliament"), only in the last year of Edward VI., in which there had not been many ordinations, and those few who had been ordained by it, and were become Catholics (as the parliament and cardinal provided for no other), had been, afore this, re-ordained, so as no disturbance of the realm could be feared from the not confirming those ordinations.

3. That he promised to receive them in their orders, though obtained *nulliter et de facto*, which could not be possibly meant of orders essentially null, because he well knew no power upon earth could confirm them, but only of canonical nullity.

4. That he put this condition or qualification upon them that should have benefit by the dispensation,—*modò ad cor reversæ, ecclesiæ catholicæ unitati restitutæ fuerint;* which may have place in ordinations canonically null, but not in other; because they are eternally valid or invalid in all alike, as well heretics or schismatics, as Catholics.

5. That he promises to receive them, *prout multi jam recepti fuerunt;* meaning those who had sued out their dispensations, as many had. But not one can be named who had been ordained bishop, priest, or deacon, by the new form, and, upon his return to Catholic religion, was

received in that order. And I am the more confident of it, because, besides the reasons given *supra*, after this parliament, heretical bishops, priests, and deacons, if they had been ordained *ritu Romano*, were degraded as such; but, if by the new form, not; but only in that order which they had received *ritu Romano*, as, namely, John Bradford, ordained a minister by the new form, was not degraded at all, but proceeded with as a mere layman;* and Doctor Hooper, made priest by the Roman form, bishop by the new, was degraded as a priest only.† And by this time I hope the reader sees how little cause Doctor Bramhall had to vaunt, as he did, of this argument as unanswerable. And this shall serve for my first reason.

CHAPTER VI.

Urging the second Reason—Invalidity of the Minister.

But grant their form were valid, yet they would be no bishops *ordine*, for another reason, invalidity of the minister: for the essential minister of this sacrament (the consecrating of a bishop) is at least, according to their own doctrine, one bishop *ordine*. Now none of them are bishops *ordine*, because no priests; as priest is the proper name of a holy order betwixt bishop and deacon.

That none can be a bishop but he that is a priest, is a

* Mr. Fox, par. 2, fol. 1464.

† Ib. fol. 1289.

received axiom amongst all divines, and granted by themselves,—*cum episcopus esse nequeat qui non fuerit presbyter, si Champnæus nos presbyteros non esse probatum dederit, actum erit de ministerio Anglicano.**

And that their ministers are no priests is manifest; because this word priest, as it is the name of a holy order, signifies one, set apart or impowered to offer to God the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. This is evident from all the forms, now extant, of ordaining priests, either ancient or modern, either of the Greek or Latin church;† and from the use of this word in all approved Christian authors, from the apostles' times to this day. Now, themselves disclaim to priesthood in this sense, and claim to it only as it signifies, in a new sense of their own devising, a minister of the gospel, having power to dispense the word and sacraments:—*Sacrificium propriè dictum ad ministros evangelicos spectare non agnoscimus.*‡—*Si sacerdotis vocabulo nihil aliud significasses quam ministrum evangelicum, cui verbi et sacramentorum commissa est dispensatio, hoc sensu nos omnes sacerdotes esse profiteremur.*§

If they will say (as otherwhiles they do, and even the same author),‖ that the eucharist is a mystical sacrifice, offered to God in commemoration or representation of Christ's death (which is as much as we believe of it), and that they have power to offer it as such, this is manifestly false; because, in all their essential form, there is not this word *priest*, nor any word equivalent, nor any word signifying or necessarily including power to offer any sacrifice.

* Mr. Mason, Ep. ded. ad Episc. Paris.

† Vid. ap. Morin. de Ordin. Sacr. par. 2.

‡ Mr. Mason, p. 545.

§ Id. lib. v. cap. 1, n. 3, p. 543.

‖ Lib. v. cap. 1, n. 3, p. 544, and cap. v. n. 11, p. 597.

Nay, should we admit this word *priest,* in their own sense, for one set apart to consecrate the body and blood of Christ in way of sacrament only, yet they would be no priests, because the words of their form signify no such power. For these are the words of it: "Take the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou forgivest they are forgiven; whose sins thou retainest they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of his holy sacraments." In which you see is no power given, as to this or any other sacrament, but only to *dispense* them. Now, to dispense this sacrament is not to consecrate it; for it must first be consecrated afore it can be dispensed; and, in some cases (as if one, at point of death, should desire his *viaticum,* and no priest or deacon could be had to give it him), it may be dispensed by a deacon, yea by a layman, but cannot be consecrated but by a priest; and, in a priest, the consecrating it belongs to his power of *order,* the dispensing it, to power of *jurisdiction* only.

CHAPTER VII.

Replying to Dr. Bramhall's Answers.

1*st Ans.* I deny that, in all forms of priestly ordination, the word *priest* is set down either expressly or equivalently. It is set down expressly in the Eastern Church, in the Western, not. (pp. 227, 228.)

Reply. In the Western Church; first, it is set down equivalently: for these words, at the delivery of the paten with

a host, and of the chalice with wine in it, *Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, &c.*, are equivalent to these,—"Take the power of priesthood," or, "Be thou a priest." But, secondly, it is also set down expressly, *viz.* in the prayer (joined with the imposition of hands) anciently called *Benedictio Presbyteri*, and which alone, as I noted afore, was the ancient form for ordaining a priest: *Exaudi nos Domine Deus noster, et super hos famulos tuos bene✠dictionem Sancti Spiritus, et gratiæ sacerdotalis infunde virtutem:* and in the prayer anciently called *Consecratio Presbyteri*, which followeth soon after the other: *Da in hos famulos tuos presbyterii dignitatem, &c., ut panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculatâ benedictione transforment, &c.;* both which prayers still are used in our form.

2nd Ans. If the words of our form be as determinate and express as the example and prescription of Christ, it is sufficient. The form of baptism is, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father," &c.; not, "I baptize thee to regeneration or remission of sins." There are many other kinds of baptisms or washings besides this sacramental baptism, yet this form is as large as the institution of Christ; and these general words are efficacious both to regeneration and remission of sins, as well as if they had been expressly mentioned. In this form of baptism there is enough antecedent, to direct and regulate both the actions and intention of the minister; so there is likewise in our form of ordination. (p. 229.)

Reply. Had Christ instituted those words of their form, "Take the Holy Ghost," &c., for giving the grace of priestly order, as he did those, "I baptize thee," &c., for giving the grace of regeneration, we neither could nor should have

excepted against it, because then it would have signified it, as the form of baptism doth regeneration, *ex instituto Christi.* But, till they can shew their form so instituted, which they can never do, the case is nothing like; and so this is no answer.

3*rd Ans.* In our form, priestly power is sufficiently expressed: first, "Receive the Holy Ghost," that is, the grace of the Holy Ghost, to exercise and discharge the office of priesthood, to which thou hast been now presented and accepted, &c. (pp. 229, 230.)

Reply. Had all these been the words of their form, we should never have questioned the validity of it. But none of them belongs to it but those first, "Receive the Holy Ghost:" THE REST ARE BUT HIS GLOSS, which I doubt not but the ordainer meant; but the intention of the minister is not sufficient to give this grace without words signifying it, which these do not.

Ans. Secondly, in these words, "Whose sins thou remittest," &c., that is, not only by priestly absolution, but by preaching, baptizing, administering the holy eucharist, which is a means to apply the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ for the remission of sins. He, who authorizes a man to accomplish a work, doth authorize him to use all means which tend to the accomplishment thereof. (p. 230.)

Reply. This answer hath the same fault with the former (that it quotes his own gloss for the text), and a much worse; for, in that, it is like the gloss was meant by the ordainer, but in this, not; it being a sense exploded by Protestants themselves as puritanical. Nor is it congruous to the words; for the remitting sins here spoken of must be the act of the priest himself—" Whose sins thou remit-

test;" whereas the remitting sins by preaching, or any other of those ways by him named (except absolution), is not the act of the priest, but of God alone, and the priest doth only apply the means whereby God doth it. And, for that rule, "he who authorizes," &c., it holds only in means necessary to the end, which the administering of the eucharist is not to the remitting of sins; for, regularly, they are and ought to be remitted afore, by the sacrament of penance; and, if Christ had pleased, he might have given that power of remitting sins to a deacon or layman.

Ans. Thirdly, this priestly power to consecrate is contained in those words, "Be thou a faithful dispenser of the word and sacraments:" and afterwards, when the bishop delivers the bible into his hands, "Have thou authority to preach the word and administer the sacraments." (p. 231.)

Reply. It is contained in neither of them: for—

1. The former, "Be thou a faithful dispenser," &c., give no power, but only admonish and exhort to a faithful discharge of the office: and the latter, "Have thou authority," &c., give no power of order, but jurisdiction only, as their own men interpret them:—*In superioribus data est potestas ordinis, in his, jurisdictio, vel facultas, per quam potestas ordinis ad usum reducitur, seu loci duntaxat, in quo potestas illa exercenda est, designatio;** and, as would have been evident by the words themselves, had he set them down entirely, and not by halves,—"Have thou authority to preach, &c., in this congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed."

2. Had they been absolute and imperative,—"Have thou authority to preach and dispense sacraments," they would

* Mr. Mason, lib. v. cap. i. n. 3, p. 544.

not have signified power of order, but jurisdiction only, nor any greater jurisdiction than a deacon is capable of; and his answer to this, "that the priest doth dispense this sacrament by way of office, a deacon only as his minister" (p. 231), is—1. False; for if a deacon be beneficed, and have a faculty from the bishop in the interim, till he be a priest, to preach and dispense sacraments, he hath authority to dispense this sacrament, *ex officio*, and not as minister to any priest: 2. Impertinent; for the dispensing it, *ex officio*, doth not formally signify, or necessarily include, power to consecrate it, at least, not as given by those words which give the power to dispense it; for, regularly, he must first be made a priest, and afterward a dispenser of it (or pastor).

If he say, that, under this word, *dispense*, the ordainer meant power, not only to administer the eucharist but to consecrate it, I believe he did; but, as I have often said, the intention of the minister is not sufficient to give power of order, and the highest power of order (as this is, to consecrate the eucharist), without words signifying it.

And this shall serve for the first part of my first conclusion, that they are no bishops *ordine*, or valid bishops.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proving the second part of the Conclusion, that they are no bishops officio, *viz., for want of jurisdiction in the Consecrators; and urging the first Reason—Want of the Patriarch's consent.*

The second part of my conclusion is, that they are no bishops *officio, jurisdictione,* or *simpliciter*. My reason is, because they that confirmed or consecrated them had no jurisdiction to either of those acts.

The consequence (they had no jurisdiction, therefore could not validly confirm, &c.) is good, because the confirming of one elected to a bishopric (that is, the ratifying of his election to it; which, if the party were consecrated afore, is that which makes him instantly bishop of it; and if he were not, is that which makes him instantly bishop, or lord, elect of it, and puts him *in proximâ potentiâ* to be consecrated bishop of it), is plainly an act of jurisdiction, and therefore cannot be exercised validly but by one having jurisdiction to it. 2. The consecrating of a bishop, as it hath two effects in the party consecrated,—one, the creating him a bishop *ordine*, another, the creating him bishop of such a see (as, *e. g.*, Canterbury, London, &c.), so it requires in the consecrators two powers,—one, to create him a bishop *ordine*, and so it is an act purely of the key of order; another, to create him bishop of that see (that is, governing pastor to that flock of clergy and

people, with authority to institute pastors, hold courts, make decrees, determine causes, inflict or release censures ecclesiastical, over or among them), and so it is plainly an act of the key of jurisdiction, because giving jurisdiction only; and so cannot be validly exercised but by one having authority to exercise it.

The antecedent (they had no jurisdiction) is proved by two mediums:

The first is, because they had no authority from the pope, who alone could give it them. For none can give pastoral jurisdiction but a pastor, nor jurisdiction over such a flock, but the pastor to that flock; because none can give a jurisdiction which he hath not. And hence, even among themselves, no bishop in the land can validly institute a pastor to any parochial church but the bishop of the diocese, or by commission from him or his superior. Nor can any number of bishops validly confirm or consecrate the bishop of any diocese, but the metropolitan of the province (or some person authorized by him or his superior) must be one; nor the metropolitan of a province, but the primate of the nation (or some person authorized by him or his superior) must be one; and consequently, by parity of reason, nor the primate of any nation, but the patriarch of that part of the world (or some person having faculty from him) must be one. This was long ago defined, or declared, by the first Council of Nice (*Τὰ ἀρχεία ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν* (that is, particularly and principally, the consecrating of their primates), &c. *Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἰ τὶς χώρις γνώμης τοῦ μετροπολίτου* (the ecclesiastical superior to that see) *γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν*

τοιούτου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον),* and afore that, by the canons, called the apostles';† and since that, hath been confirmed by the great Council of Chalcedon,‡ and divers other councils, and received by the practice and consent of the universal church from that time to this day. Consequently, the patriarch of the West (the bishop of Rome) being the unquestionable rightful metropolitan to the primate of this nation (the archbishop of Canterbury), and the founder of that see, no number of bishops in this land can validly confirm or consecrate him, but [with] the bishop of Rome, or by faculty or commission from him, or, at least, not without his consent *implicitè*, or reasonably presumed: and so, there having been no rightful primate of this nation since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for want of the pope's consent to his consecration, there hath been no bishop validly confirmed or consecrated in it since that time, nor can be till the pope's consent can be had.

* Mos antiquus obtineat, in Egypto, Libya, et Pentapoli, ut episcopus Alexandrinus horum omnium habeat potestatem, &c. Universim autem illud manifestum est, quod si quis absque consensu metropolitani fiat episcopus, hunc magna synodus definivit non debere esse episcopum. (Can. vi.)

† Can. xxxv.

‡ Can. xxvii. [It is known, however, that this canon was surreptitiously passed in the council.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER IX.

Urging the Second Reason,—their having no jurisdiction but from the King; and bringing the first proof of it from their own acts and confessions.

My second medium shall be, because they have no jurisdiction to these acts but what they have originally from the King, who can give them none; and,

First, that he can give them none to these acts I suppose will be granted, because, to institute or create a pastor to a flock of clergy and people, is plainly a power of the keys, which themselves acknowledge no temporal prince, as such, hath; and they give a good reason for it, because, "the power of the keys was evidently given by Christ, in Scripture, to his apostles and their successors, not to sovereign princes." Hence, Queen Elizabeth, in her commission to them who were to confirm and consecrate Matthew Parker to the see of Canterbury, would not use the words "assign, constitute, or authorize" (as is used in all other commissions), but only "required them to confirm and consecrate him, and do all other things which in this behalf belonged to their pastoral office,"* thereby acknowledging that these were acts of the pastoral office, which she could not authorize, but only command them to perform.

Secondly, that they have no jurisdiction to these acts

* Dr. Bram. pp. 84, 88.

but what they have originally from the King, may be shewed many ways: I shall make use of three:—

The first shall be from their own acts and confessions, as,

1. That Doctor Heylin notes of Queen Elizabeth (as commendable in her), that "she looked upon herself as the sole fountain of both jurisdictions"* (temporal and spiritual). For, if she was the sole fountain of both, then they, that confirmed and consecrated Matthew Parker and her other first bishops, had no jurisdiction for it but what they derived from her:

2. That, afore their consecration, they take, 1. The oath of supremacy, whereby they acknowledge the King to be "the only supreme governor, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." For if so, they cannot exercise any spiritual jurisdiction *in foro exteriori* (as this is, to confirm and consecrate a pastor), but what must be derived from him. Nor can they say that by the supreme governor, in that oath, is meant only the supreme *political* governor; for the act, that established that oath, declares it to belong to the King's supremacy, "to use and exercise all such jurisdictions, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual and ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm;"† and consequently to authorize any bishops in the land (as the pope afore did) to confirm and consecrate archbishops and bishops, and so, that none might confirm or consecrate any but by authority from the King, as afore they might not but by authority from the pope:—nay, it gives to the King more authority, and in this very kind, than the pope

* Eccl. Rest. in Pref. ix.

† 1 Eliz. c. 1.

can exercise, or ever pretended to, *viz.* to "assign and authorize any persons as he shall think meet" (bishops, or not bishops, clerks or laymen, so they be his natural-born subjects), "to exercise under him all manner of jurisdictions and authorities in anywise touching or concerning any spiritual jurisdiction within this realm;" and consequently to confirm or consecrate archbishops or bishops of any sees, for this is a spiritual jurisdiction. 2. Besides this, they take a particular oath of homage, whereby they acknowledge "to hold their archbishopric (or bishopric), with all authority, jurisdiction, privileges, revenues, and all else thereunto belonging, solely and only from his Majesty." If *all* their jurisdiction from him *solely*, they can have no authority to constitute a pastor of a cathedral or metropolitical church but what they must have from him.

CHAPTER X.

Bringing the Second Proof from other public acts.

The second way of proof shall be from other public acts and proceedings approved by them, by which it appears that the King can, and sometimes does, at his pleasure, limit, control, suspend, or utterly deprive the bishops of their jurisdiction, which he could not do if they had it from any other than himself. Of this I shall name two instances:

One, shall be the sequestering of Dr. Abbot, by the late King, from his office of archbishop of Canterbury, upon a displeasure taken against him for refusing to license a sermon as the King desired, and committing that office (he living) unto other bishops of his own appointing; "authorizing them to do all or any acts pertaining to the power, jurisdiction, or authority of the archbishop of Canterbury in causes or matters ecclesiastical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said archbishop might have done."* And so, by virtue of this commission, those persons had authority to consecrate or confirm the archbishop of York, if it should happen, or any bishop within the province of Canterbury, which, without it, they had not.

Another, shall be the declaration of his Majesty (whom God grant long to reign over us), touching affairs of religion; in which he deprives all the bishops and archbishops in the land of their power of sole ordaining and censuring their presbyters, and joins their presbyters in commission with them, as to those acts of ordaining and censuring.

* See the Commission at large, in Mr. Rushworth's Hist. Col. i. p. 431.

CHAPTER XI.

Bringing the Third Proof from the Consecration of Matthew Parker.

My third proof shall be from the consecration of Matthew Parker, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, from whom all the archbishops and bishops, that have been since, descend; and so, if he had no authority to confirm or consecrate a bishop but what he had from the Queen, none since him can have, because they can have none but must be derived to them from and by him.

Now that he had none but from the Queen, is proved—

They who confirmed and consecrated him had no authority for it but from the Queen:

Therefore he had none but from the Queen.

The consequence, I suppose, will not be denied, because he had all his spiritual jurisdiction by his confirmation and consecration to that see: if then they who confirmed and consecrated him did it by no authority but of the Queen, he could have none but what he had from her.

The antecedent is easily proved; for, if they had any, it must be either as bishops *ordine*, or as bishops *officio;* but neither of these ways had they any.

1. Not as bishops *ordine*, because to confirm or consecrate a pastor, is an act of jurisdiction, which a bishop, *ordine* only, hath none.

2. Not as bishops *officio*, because,

First, not one of them was so, as appears by the style given them in the Queen's letters patent to them for this business:—*Regina, &c. Antonio Landavensi episcopo; Willelmo Barlow, quondam Bathoniensi episcopo, nunc Cicestrensi electo; Joanni Scory, quondam Cicestrensi episcopo, nunc electo Herefordiensi; Miloni Coverdale, quondam Exoniensi episcopo; Richardo Bedfordensi, Joanni Thedfordensi, episcopis suffraganeis, et Joanni Bale, Ossoriensio episcopo;*—where, you see, those four that confirmed and consecrated him (admitting their Lambeth records for true), to wit, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskins (suffragan of Bedford), are not styled bishops of any see, as two of the other are (he of Landaff and he of Ossory), but either *quondam* bishops only, as Coverdale, or *quondam* bishops and lords *elect* only, as Barlow and Scory; or *suffragan* bishops only, as John Hodgskins, that is, who had indeed the episcopal character, but were pastors of parochial churches only, erected into suffragan sees by the Act of 26th Hen. VIII. c. 14; who, by the Act, could not exercise any least act of jurisdiction, no, not within their own parish, without license of the bishop of the diocese.

Secondly, because, had they been, all of them, actual bishops of cathedral churches, yet they could not validly confirm or consecrate any lowest bishop in the land, and much less their metropolitan, without a faculty or commission from some superior to that see; and the reason is evident, because,

1. They could not, by their own authority, validly exercise any jurisdiction out of their own dioceses, as London, where they were to confirm, and Lambeth,

where they were to consecrate, him, were out of all their dioceses.

2. Nor within his own diocese could any one of them give jurisdiction to be exercised in another diocese, as Canterbury was.

3. Much less could they (being but simple bishops) give a jurisdiction metropolitical, and create a superior to themselves and to all the bishops of the province, yea, and to the archbishop of another province, namely, him of York; for they could not give a jurisdiction which they had not.

These two grand defects, therefore, in the condition, state, and faculty of the confirmers and consecrators of Matthew Parker, the one against the canons of the church, that they had no consent of the metropolitan to the see of Canterbury, the other against both the canons of the church and the laws of the land, that not one of those who were like to execute the commission was a bishop (*simpliciter*, or, in the sense wherein all laws, both of the church and of the land, mean, when they speak of a bishop), rendering them uncapable to confirm or consecrate him till those defects were supplied; the party that supplied those defects was the party that gave them their authority to those acts. Now it is manifest, by the Queen's commission to them, that she, by virtue of her supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, did supply to them those defects; for these are the words of the commission: *Regina, &c. Reverendissimis in Christo patribus, Antonio, &c. (ut supra). Cum decanus et capitulum ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis et metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis dilectum nobis in Christo magistrum Mattheum Parker sibi et ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerunt in archiepiscopum et pastorem;*

nos eidem electioni regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus; rogantes, ac, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, eundem, in archiepiscopum et pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ sicut præfertur electum, electionemque prædictam, confirmare, et eundem in archiepiscopum et pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestro in hâc parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta formam statutorum in eâ parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu:—Supplentes nihilominus, supremâ authoritate nostrâ regiâ, si quid, aut in his quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrûm aliquo, conditione, statu, aut facultate vestris, ad præmissa perficienda, desit aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas, in eâ parte requiruntur aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante; viz.* because neither the consent of the metropolitan (the bishop of Rome), nor four bishops, as the law of the realm, nor three, as the canons of the church, required, no, nor any one bishop, could be then had to his confirmation and consecration. Now, though really she could give them no such authority, because she had no power of the keys, to which it pertained to dispense with the canons of the church, yet this suffices to prove my intent, that they had no authority to either of those acts but what they had from her.

* [The commission is in Rymer, xv. pp. 549, 550.—*Editor*.]

CHAPTER XII.

Replying to Dr. Heylin's Answer.

Doctor Heylin* undertakes to answer all our objections against the canonicalness of Matthew Parker's consecration; but he neither sets them all down, nor solves those he doth, as will appear by the reply.

1*st Ans.* "Though Barlow and Scory were deprived of their episcopal sees, yet, first, the justice and legality of their deprivation was not clear in law."

Reply. 1. And why then did the Queen, in her letters patent, not style them bishops, but only *quondam* bishops of those sees? And why did she not, in all that time (being above thirteen months after her coming to the crown), restore them to those sees? And why did she, or how could she, they living, place others in those sees without their resignation? 2. Grant the deprivation had been unjust, yet, till it was avoided, and they restored by sentence, they were no bishops of those sees in the eye of the law. 3. Had they been actual bishops of those sees, yet they would have had no authority to confirm or consecrate him, for the defects shewed *supra.*

2*nd Ans.* "Secondly, they neither were nor could be deprived of their episcopal character: . . . and whilst that remained, they were in a capacity of performing all episco-

* Eccles. Rest. p. 2, f. 122.

pal offices, to which they should be called by their metropolitan, or any higher power directing and commanding in all such matters as concerned the church."

Reply. If by *higher power*, &c., he mean *ecclesiastical*, it is true, he saith, but impertinent, because they were not called to confirm or consecrate Matthew Parker by any such higher power, but only by the Queen. But if he mean that their episcopal character rendered them capable to perform all episcopal offices to which they should be called by a lay prince only, having no other authority in matters which concern the church, but only to direct or command bishops to perform their offices, it is notorious false doctrine.

3*rd Ans.* "As for *suffragans*, by which title Hodgskins is commissionated for the consecration, they were no other than the *chorepiscopi* of the primitive times, ordained for easing the diocesan," &c.

Reply. They were in some things more than the *chorepiscopi*, for they (the *chorepiscopi*) were no bishops *ordine*, which these were; but in other things they were less, for the *chorepiscopi* had jurisdiction episcopal from some lawful bishop of the see, which these had not, but were only established by an Act of Parliament of Hen. VIII.: nor had any of the bishops, then in the realm, episcopal jurisdiction (being manifest heretics and schismatics), and so could not constitute a *suffragan*. But, grant they were no less than the *chorepiscopi*, he cannot shew that ever any *chorepiscopus* was used for the confirming or consecrating of a bishop. And this shall serve for the second part of my conclusion, "that they are no bishops *officio*" (or canonical bishops).

CHAPTER XIII.

Proving the third part of the Conclusion, that they are no legal bishops; and urging the first Reason, because the Act of Hen. VIII., for the Roman form, is still in force.

Though it matter not much to my purpose whether they be legal bishops or not, yet, because our writers have objected this also against them,—"Is it not notorious that you were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the church, but even of the very statutes?"*—and their late champions have undertaken to defend it, and the discussing of it will give much light into the whole controversy, and more abundantly discover the nullity of their consecrations,—this shall be the third part of my conclusion, that "they are no legal bishops." My reasons are two:

The first is, because the Act 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, which authorizes the Roman form for consecrating bishops (by giving pall, and using benedictions, unctions, and all other ceremonies requisite at that time, *viz.*, by the Roman pontifical, which was then in use in this nation), being repealed by Queen Mary, was revived in the first of Elizabeth, and never since repealed, and so is still in force.

Nor will it serve to say that that Act of Hen. VIII. was

* Dr. Stapleton's Counterblast against Horne.

repealed (as to that part of it) virtually, or interpretatively, by the Act of the 8th of Elizabeth, which established another form: for, in the judgment of law, an Act of Parliament is not repealed but by express words.

CHAPTER XIV.

Urging the second Reason, because the Act of Edw. VI., for the Book of Ordination, being repealed by Queen Mary, is not yet revived; and proving the first part of the Reason, that it was not revived afore the 8th of Elizabeth.

The second reason is, because, granting that the Act of Hen. VIII. was virtually repealed by the 8th of Elizabeth, and that such virtual repeal is sufficient in law, yet the form of Edw. VI., by which they are ordained, cannot be legal, because that part of the Act of Edw. VI. which established the Book of Ordination, and was repealed by Queen Mary, was not revived afore the 8th of Elizabeth, nor then neither.

The first part of this reason (that it was not revived afore the 8th of Elizabeth) is easily proved; for whereas that Act of 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 1, consisted of two parts,—one, which authorized the Book of Common Prayer (established 2 and 3 Edw. VI.), as it was then newly explained and perfected; another, which established the form of consecrating bishops, &c., and added it to the Book of Common Prayer; this Act, as to both these parts, was

repealed in the 1st of Mary, and this repeal was reversed 1 Eliz., c. 1, as to that part which concerned the Book of Common Prayer only; for so runs the Act: "The said statute of repeal, and every thing therein contained, *only* concerning the said book (*viz.* of Common Prayer, authorized by Edw. VI.), shall be void and of none effect:" and afterward, 8 Eliz. c. 1, was revived that other part of it which concerned the form of ordination, viz., in these words: "such order and form for the consecrating of archbishops, bishops, &c., as was set forth in the time of Edw. VI., and added to the said Book of Common Prayer, and authorized 5 and 6 Edw. VI., shall stand and be in full force, and shall from henceforth be used and observed."

CHAPTER XV.

Replying to Dr. Bramhall's Answer.

First, he sets down our objection wrong,—

"The Book of Ordination was expressly established by name by Edw. VI.; and that Act was expressly repealed by Queen Mary: but the Book of Ordination was not expressly restored by Queen Elizabeth, but only in general terms, under the name and notion of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.:" (pp. 95, 96), for this is not our objection, but this,—it was not restored at all, but rather formally excluded, by the 1st of Elizabeth; for that Act of Edw. VI. consisting of nothing else but the authorizing of the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing and adding to

it the Book of Ordination; and the Act of Queen Mary having repealed that whole Act, that Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, reversing that repeal, as to the Book of Common Prayer *only*, did plainly and directly exclude the repealing of it as to the Book of Ordination, there being nothing else to be excluded by that "*only*" but that book. And I am confident it was the full intent of the Queen and Parliament, at that time, to retain still, as the order of bishops, so the Catholic form of consecrating them, authorized by Act of Parliament, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, after his revolt from Rome, and used all his time till his death, and for some years of Edw. VI.: for that Queen loved state and solemnity in the rites of the church, where it justled not with her interest, and loathed the slovenly way of ordaining, used by Lutherans and Calvinists, until she was overborne in it at the consecration of Matthew Parker, when no Catholic bishops could be got to consecrate him, and the Protestant would not consecrate him *ritu Romano*. And one good reason of my confidence is, because that Act of the 1st of Elizabeth did expressly revive the Act of the 25th of Hen. VIII., c. 20; which was inconsistent with the reviving of that part of the Act of Edw. VI. which concerned the Book of Ordination; that form, authorized by the Act of Hen. VIII., being the Roman form, with pall, unction, benedictions, mitre, ring, &c.; and that of Edward VI. a bald thing, without any of that dress.

Secondly, the answers he gives to the objections are false or frivolous, as will appear by the replies.

Ans. "Queen Mary's statute was repealed sufficiently, even as to the Book of Ordination, as appears by the very words of that statute which repealed it,—'And that

the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, shall be in full force and effect, any thing in Queen Mary's statute of repeal to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.'" (p. 66.)

Reply. By these words it appears it was not repealed as to the Book of Ordination, because the words preceding repealed it expressly as to the Book of Common Prayer only; and these words revive the statute of Edw. VI. as to that book only.

Ans. "That the Book of Ordination was a part of the Book of Common Prayer, and printed in this book in King Edward's days, besides the express testimony of the statute of the 8th of Elizabeth, we have the authority of the canons of the Church of England, which call it singularly 'The Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons.'" (p. 97.)

Reply. The statute of the 8th of Elizabeth testifies no such thing, much less expressly: and the canon by him cited is against himself, implying it was no part of the Book of Common Prayer (for then it had been vain to say the Book of Common Prayer and of ordering bishops), but a distinct book by itself, though bound up in one volume, or under one cover, with the Book of Common Prayer; and thence called singularly "The Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops," *i. e.* the book containing both those books.

Ans. "It is our form of prayer upon that occasion, as much as our form of baptizing or administering the holy eucharist, or our form of confirming, or marrying, or visiting the sick." (p. 97.)

Reply. True, but not contained in the Book of Com-

mon prayer, but in a distinct book; and therefore not revived with it necessarily, or in virtue of that name, *the Book of Common Prayer*.

Ans. "It is alsoa part of our form of administration of the sacraments. We deny not ordination to be a sacrament." (p. 97.)

Reply. But it is not a sacrament contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and therefore not revived with that book.

Ans. "No man can deny that it is a part of our ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and under that notion sufficiently authorized." (*ibid.*)

Reply. Any man can, and I do, deny it to be any rite or ceremony pertaining to the Book of Common Prayer; and therefore, under that notion, it could not be authorized by an act authorizing the Book of Common Prayer.

Ans. Lastly, "*Ejus est legem interpretari cujus est condere.* Queen Elizabeth and her Parliament made the law, and expounded it by the same authority that made it, declaring, that, under the Book of Common Prayer, the form of ordination was comprehended, and ought to be understood" (pp. 97, 98).

Reply. He should have quoted the words so declaring, and, no doubt, would have done it, had there been any: but there are no such; nay, divers passages of that Act do rather declare the contrary, as—

1. When speaking of the Act of the 1st of Mary, they say, "It repealed the Act of Edw. VI. for allowing the Book of Common Prayer, and other the premises" (that is, the Book of Ordination, spoken of before, as added, by that Act, to the Book of Common Prayer): but, speaking of the Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, they do not say it established

the said Book of Common Prayer, and other the premises, but only "The said Book of Common Prayer, and of the administration of sacraments; and other the said orders, rites, and ceremonies before mentioned;" that is, contained in the said Book of Common Prayer, for no other were before mentioned.

2. When, for the Book of Common Prayer, they mention the Act of the 1st of Elizabeth that had authorized it, they only confirm that Act ("The said Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, whereby the said Book of Common Prayer is authorized, shall stand and remain good"): but, for the Book of Ordination, they mention not the Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, but revive the Act of Edw. VI. for it, ("Such order and form for the consecrating of archbishops, &c., as was authorized by 5 and 6 Edw. VI. shall stand and be in full force):" which had been vain, if it had been revived before, by the 1st of Elizabeth, as it would have been, if it had been a part of the Book of Common Prayer.

CHAPTER XVI.

Noting Doctor Heylin's varying from himself, and falsifying the Act of the 8th of Elizabeth.

Doctor Heylin, relating this matter as an historian, first varies from himself, and then notoriously falsifies the Act of the 8th of Elizabeth.

1. He varies from himself; for one while, he delivers it

(as the truth was) that the liturgy was confirmed in the 1st of Elizabeth, and the Book of Ordination not afore the 8th of Elizabeth,—"In the first year of her reign, the liturgy was confirmed by Parliament; in her fifth, the articles of religion were agreed upon in the convocation; and in the eighth, the government of the church by archbishops and bishops received as strong a confirmation as the laws could give it; and for this last we are beholden unto Bonner, &c.:"* and elsewhere,—"In the six-and-thirtieth article, it is declared that whosoever were consecrated and ordered according to the rites of the ordinal of Edw. VI., should be reputed and adjudged to be lawfully consecrated and rightly ordered: which declaration of the church was afterwards made good by Act of Parliament, in the eighth year of that Queen, in which the said ordinal is confirmed and ratified."† And yet another while he saith, "It was approved of and confirmed as a part of the liturgy:"‡—for, if so, then it was confirmed with the liturgy, in the 1st of Elizabeth.

2. Then he notoriously falsifies the Act of the 8th of Elizabeth: "The business," saith he,§ "came under consideration in the following Parliament (8 Eliz.), where all particulars being fully and considerately discoursed upon, it was first declared" (setting down these that follow as the words of the Act), "That their (the Parliament, 1 Eliz.), not restoring of that book to the former power, in terms significant and express, was but *casus omissus;* and secondly, that, by the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI., it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, as a member of it, or at least

* Eccl. Rest. in Ep. to Reader, p. 8.

† Part 1, f. 83.

‡ Part 1, f. 83.

§ Part 2, f. 174.

an appendant to it; and, therefore, by the 1st of Elizabeth was restored again, together with the said Book of Common Prayer, intentionally at the least, if not *in terminis;* but, being the words in the said statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they did therefore revive it now, and did accordingly enact, &c.,"—when there is not any one of these sentences in the Act, I do not say in *words*, but not so much as in *sense;* nay, when the Act supposed the contrary, as is shewn *supra.*

CHAPTER XVII.

Confirming the Argument by the Proceedings in Bonner's Case; and urging the first Inference for the Opinion of the Judges.

THIS that I have urged (that that part of the Act of Edw. VI., for the Book of Ordination, was not revived afore 8 Eliz., and consequently they no legal bishops afore that Act) is so true, as that it was the opinion of even the Protestant judges at that time, and of the Parliament that made that Act, as may be manifestly inferred from the proceedings of the judges and Parliament in the case of Bonner and Horn, which was this:—

By the first session of that Parliament, 5 Eliz. c. 1, power was given to any bishop in the realm to tender the oath of supremacy (enacted 1 Eliz.) to any ecclesiastical person within his diocese; and the refuser was to

incur a *premunire*. Mr. Horn, the new bishop of Winchester, tenders, by virtue of this statute, the oath unto Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, but deprived by Queen Elizabeth, and then a prisoner in the Marshalsea, which was within the diocese of Winchester. Bonner refuses to take it: Horn certifies his refusal into the King's Bench; whereupon Bonner was indicted upon the statute. He prays judgment, whether he might not give in evidence upon this issue, *Quod ipse non est inde culpabilis, eo quod dictus Episcopus de Winchester non fuit episcopus, tempore oblationis sacramenti.* And it was resolved by all the judges at Serjeants' Inn, that, if the verity and matter be so indeed, he should well be received to give in evidence upon this issue, and the jury should try it.* After which, we hear no more of the indictment: and, at the next session of that Parliament (which was 8 Eliz.), was revived the Act of Edw. VI. for the Book of Ordination, and enacted, "That all that have been or shall be made, ordered, or consecrated archbishops, bishops, &c., after that form of Edw. VI., be in very deed, and by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops, bishops, &c., and rightly made, ordered, and consecrated, any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding;" but with this proviso, "that no person shall be impeached by occasion or mean of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop heretofore made, or, before the last day of this session, to be made, by virtue of any Act made in the first session of this Parliament, touching the refusal of the oath, enacted 1 Eliz.; and that all tenders of the said oath, and all refusals of it

* Dyer, p. 234, apud Mason, 380.

so tendered, or, before the last day of this session, to be tendered, by any archbishop or bishop, shall be void."

Now, from this story I make two inferences to my purpose:—

The first, that, in the opinion of the judges at that time, the Act of Edw. VI. for the Book of Ordination was not revived by the 1st of Elizabeth, and so Horn was no legal bishop; for otherwise, there is no reason imaginable why Horn would not join issue with Bonner upon that point,—*non fuit episcopus tempore oblationis sacramenti*,—and so come to a trial of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Refuting the Shifts used by Mr. Mason and Doctor Heylin to evade this Inference.

Master Mason puts this for our question:—*Quæ ratio dilatæ sententiæ?** (whereas that is not our question, but this:—Why did not Horn join issue? &c.), and, to avoid the *true* one, gives *other* reasons for it, but very frivolous ones, as will appear by the answers.

1*st Reason.* "Bonner's counsel, though they pleaded Horn was no bishop, yet for aught appears by Dyer, they gave no reason for it. It seems, therefore, that the judges allowed them longer time to produce their reasons, that so the dignity of the bishops might shine more clear."

* L. 3, c. 11, n. 6, p. 381.

Ans. Dr. Heylin saith, Bonner's counsel did give their reason, *viz.* that the form of Edw. VI. had been repealed by Queen Mary, "and so remained at Horn's pretended consecration:"* but I suppose it a mistake of his; for it is not the use, in the entering of a plea, to give a reason of it; for that is to be shewn and pleaded at the hearing, which this cause never came to: and therefore that could be no reason of the delay of sentence.

2nd Reason. "Other jurors were to be warned out of Surrey afore sentence could be given."†

Ans. It was not time to warn jurors afore issue joined, which this never was; and when they were to be warned, it was but out of Southwark, which might have been against the next term; and so could be no reason why sentence was delayed two years, or near upon, as it was, betwixt this pleading at Serjeants' Inn and the session of the 8th of Elizabeth.

3rd Reason. "Whilst the suit was depending, which began 7 Eliz., a Parliament was held, 8 Eliz., in which all suits depending for refusal of the oath of supremacy were dissolved."‡

Ans. He is out in his reckoning: for Horn, thirsting after Bonner's ruin, who, it is thought, was the man chiefly aimed at in that Act, began the suit, soon after that Act of the 5th of Elizabeth, and procured him to be indicted; and Bonner demurred to it: which (as Doctor Heylin saith) "being put off from term to term, came at last to be debated among the judges at Serjeants' Inn;"§ which was in Michaelmas term, which began in the 6th of Elizabeth, betwixt which and the Parliament was two years, or near

* Part 2, f. 173.
† Mason, p. 381.
‡ Ibid.
§ Part 2, f. 173.

upon; so that Act could be no reason why it was delayed all that time, after the judges had made that rule for the issue and trial of it.

Doctor Heylin, therefore, gives another reason for it, and I believe the true one, *viz.* that it was advised (which must mean, *by the judges, to Horn,* for it was not in the power of Bonner, being defendant, to refer it), "that the decision of the point should rather be referred to the following Parliament."

And of this advice he gives this reason,—"For fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a contrary jury."*

Ans. But this could be no reason; because the decision of the point in law, upon which rested the whole difficulty, and which alone could be referred to the decision of the Parliament (*viz.* whether the form of Edw. VI. were legal, or, whether one consecrated by that form were a bishop), was not to be put to the jury, but to be determined by the judges, and the jury to try only the matter of fact, whether he were so consecrated. If, therefore, the judges had delivered it for law, that Horn, if so consecrated, was a bishop, and he could have proved he was so consecrated (as was easy for him to do, if the records be true), the jury must have found him a bishop, or incurred an *attaint,* which there was no reason to fear they would do, in such a cause as that, where the Queen was plaintiff, a Protestant bishop (and their neighbour, and landlord to most of them, being Southwark men) the prosecutor, all the bishops and clergy in the land, made by the new form, extremely interested in the verdict, and only a Papist, generally hated, and deprived of all office and power in the state,

* Part 2, f. 173.

and then a prisoner, the defendant: and that which he adds to colour his reason, "that there had been some proof made before of the partiality or insufficiency of a jury, touching grants made by King Edward's bishops,"* if meant of juries in Queen Mary's time, was no reason in Queen Elizabeth's; and, if meant in her time, helps to confirm what I say, that, afore the 8th of Elizabeth, neither judges nor juries could find King Edward's bishops were legal bishops. The true reason, therefore, why the judges advised Horn to refer his cause to the Parliament, can be no other than this, as I say, that they found an Act of Parliament was necessary to make him a bishop.

CHAPTER XIX.

Urging the second Inference, for the Opinion of the Parliament.

My second inference is,—that the Parliament, 8 Eliz., were not of opinion that Horn was a legal bishop; for, if they had,—

1. They would not have revived the Act of Edw. VI. for the form of ordination; for that implied it was not revived afore; and, if not, they could be no legal bishops.

2. They would have made no law in the case, but left it to a judgment of the court, or only given a sentence in it themselves.

3. If they would make a law for it, yet, 1. They would

* Ibid. p. 174.

not have enacted them to be bishops, but only declared that they were so.

2. Nor would they have said as they do,—"Be it declared and enacted, that all things heretofore done in or about the consecration of archbishops and bishops be, and shall be, by authority of this Parliament, at and from every of the several times of doing thereof, good and perfect, any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary notwithstanding;" which, except meant of the making them so to be, by virtue of that Act, would be mere nonsense and contradiction: but thus:—"All things heretofore done, &c., were in very deed, at and from every of the several times of doing thereof, good without authority of this Act, and any matter or thing to be objected to the contrary."

3. Nor would they have said as they do:—"All that have been consecrated archbishops, &c., since her Majesty's reign, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops and bishops, and rightly consecrated, any law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding;" which, except as afore, would be another strange medley of nonsense and contradictions (which ambiguous language they were driven to, out of a desire to use some words for the honour of the bishops, as if bishops afore, and of a necessity to use other, for the creating them such then); but they would have said, in plain and good English, which would have put the matter out of question,—"All that have been consecrated were, in very deed, at and from every of the several times of their consecrations, archbishops and bishops, and rightly consecrated according to law."

4. Nor would they have recited, as they do at large, the supreme authority given to the Queen by the 1st of Elizabeth, "To assign and authorize such persons as she should think meet, to exercise under her all manner of spiritual jurisdiction," and thereupon inferred, "So that to all that will well consider of the effect and true intent of the said statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the Queen (to make bishops by her commission only, with or without any legal form of consecration, or with or without any bishops for the consecrators), and which she, by her said letters patents, hath used in and about their consecrations (by supplying to them all defects, either in the form they should use, or in the faculty, state, or condition of the consecrators, whether bishops or not bishops), it is and may be evident that no cause of scruple can or may be objected against their consecrations;"—for this grounds the legality both of the form and of the consecrators, not upon the things in their own nature, but upon the authority of the Queen's commission, which supplied to them all defects in law; but they would have said plainly, and without praying any such aid from the Queen's supremacy, —"They were consecrated by legal bishops and by a legal form," or "the form of Edw. VI. was a legal form," or "was revived by the 1st of Elizabeth," &c., seeing that was the only exception against the form of their consecrations.

5. Nor, least of all, after Bonner had put in a plea so insolent, and reproachful to the Queen, her bishops, and their whole clergy and church, and (if Horn had been a bishop) had incurred a *premunire* for refusing the oath of supremacy, and when the acquittal of him and of all other refractory refusers of the oath afore the last day of that session (when there was no other exception to the certificates

but this,—" that they that made them were no bishops"), and this, without and afore any petition exhibited, or submission promised on the delinquent's part, would, in the interpretation of all indifferent men, redound notably to the justifying of Bonner's plea, and, consequently, to the infamy of their whole clergy and church; I say, all this considered, they would never have made such provisoes for the indemnity of Bonner and the other delinquents, if they could have found Horn a legal bishop.

CHAPTER XX.

Refuting the Shifts devised to evade this Inference.

MASTER MASON saith,—" This annulling of Horn's certificate doth not argue Bonner's innocence, or any defect in Horn's being a bishop, but only the great favour and indulgence of the Parliament; for (saith he) first they cleared our bishops from the calumny of their adversaries, and then graciously pardoned Bonner and his fellows, that had so impudently flown upon the bishops for offering the oath to them; for they hoped it would come to pass that they who, out of ignorance or malice, had always, before that, been snarling at their consecrations, would at length be wise."*

Refut.—1. They did not first clear their bishops, as is

* L. 3, c. 2, n. 7, p. 382.

shewed afore. 2. Nor did they pardon Bonner and his fellows, but annul the process. 3. That Act was so far from shewing the Catholics their error touching the nullity of their bishops, as it served rather to confirm them in it. 4. I cannot think Master Mason was so simple as either to believe it himself, or hope to persuade it to any reasonable man, either that the Parliament had any such hope of Bonner and his fellows, or, if they had, that that hope should move them to shew such favour to men that had so impudently flown upon their bishops, only for offering an oath to them which the law authorized them to do; or, if they did, that they would not have intimated that to have been the reason of their favour (thereby to prevent the adversaries' misconstruction of it), nor have limited that favour to such who should at length be wise, and not snarl any more at their consecrations, nor have appointed sentence to be first given for their being bishops, and then the delinquents to have their pardons upon suing out, but wholly annul the indictments, and all certificates of their bishops.

Doctor Heylin saith: "This favour was indulged unto them of the laity, in hope of gaining them, by fair means, to a sense of their duty; to Bonner and the rest of the bishops, as men that had sufficiently suffered upon that account, by the loss of their bishoprics."*

Ref. But, 1. No favour could be intended to them of the laity, because the Act (5 Eliz.) authorized not the tendering of the oath to any but *ecclesiastical* persons. 2. The favour was indulged not to *deprived bishops* only, but to all deans, archdeacons, prebends, parsons, vicars,

* Par. 2, f. 174.

&c., and to them that had yet perhaps lost nothing, as well as to them that had.

3. As soon as their bishops should be legal (that is, presently after that session), the penalty of that law was to be inflicted on all alike, as well the *deprived bishops* as any other.

Doctor Bramhall therefore gives a more likely reason of those provisoes, *viz.* the ambiguity of the Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, whether it had revived the Book of Ordination or not: "Although," saith he, "the case was so evident, and was so judged by the Parliament, that the form of consecration was comprehended under the name and notion of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.; yet, in the indictment against Bishop Bonner, I do commend the discretion of our judges, and much more the moderation of the Parliament. Criminal laws should be written with a beam of the sun, without all ambiguity" (p. 99).

Ref. But neither will this reason hold water: for, 1. The case was not *evident* that the Book of Ordination was revived with the liturgy, as a part of it, but rather evident it was not, for the reasons given *supra.* 2. The case was not so judged by the Parliament, but rather the contrary, as is shewed *supra.* 3. How could the case be *evident* and yet *ambiguous?* (as he saith both.) 4. Had it been mere *moderation* of the Parliament, by reason of the *ambiguity of the law,* they might, and no doubt would, have intimated as much, and, considering the conjuncture of things, have found out some other way of shewing that moderation (as by *pardoning* the delinquents, &c.), than by annulling the indictment, after such a plea entered by Bonner, *that Horn was no bishop;* for this could signify no less than an acknowledging of the plea.

CHAPTER XXI.

Proving the Second Part of the Reason,—that it was not revived then.

The second part of my reason,—That the Act of Edw. VI. for the Book of Ordination was not revived by the 8th of Elizabeth, is proved; because the Act of Queen Mary, for repeal of it, was never yet repealed; and so, being then in force, was an obstacle to the legal reviving of King Edward's Act: because two repugnant laws (as those were) cannot be both in force; and the Act of Queen Elizabeth, being the latter, could not be in force, till the other were repealed.

If it be said, Queen Mary's form was repealed *virtually*, and in the *intention* of the law-maker, by authorizing another,—1. This is not sufficient, because an Act of Parliament is not legally repealed but by *express* words. 2. Grant it were sufficient, yet Queen Mary's form was not repealed so much as *virtually*, because a law cannot be abrogated but by as great an authority as made it, which this was not; because Queen Mary's Act was made by a *full* Parliament, or by all the three estates (lords spiritual, temporal, and commons); whereas, the repeal was but by two-thirds of the Parliament, or by two estates only (the lords temporal and commons); those that then sat upon the bishops' bench, in the lords' house, being no bishops, as is proved *supra*, and all the Catholic bishops then

living, which were the rightful bishops, being, *by unjust force,* hindered from being present, and dissenting to what was done. I say, *by unjust force,* because neither were they deprived by any judicial sentence (whence it was found needful afterwards to make their deprivations good, by a law, 39 Eliz. c. 1), nor was that Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, which enacted the oath of supremacy, and involved the refusers of it in a *premunire,* by virtue whereof they were by force put out of their bishoprics and kept in prison, a legal Act, for reasons given *infra.*

If it be said, the authority of the *two* estates (if they were no more) was as great formally as of all the *three,* because the bishops are no essential part of the Parliament,—1. This is said gratis, for they are, and, when no violence hath been on foot against them, ever have been counted, an essential part. And this Parliament, now in being, seems to acknowledge as much, when, speaking of the Act of the Long Parliament for abolishing the bishops' jurisdiction, they say it contained "divers alterations prejudicial to the constitution and ancient rights of Parliament, and contrary to the laws of the land;"* meaning principally the excluding them from their votes in Parliament, and so thereby implying that they were a *constitutive* part of the Parliament, by ancient right and the law of the land. 2. Granting (as it may be true in case of necessity, as now, when there are no bishops in the land) that they were no necessary part absolutely, or as to all affairs, namely, not as to the making of civil laws, or which should concern the subjects in common; yet certainly, in Acts that purely concern religion and the

* 13 Car. II. c. 2.

clergy in particular, it must be said in reason, they are an essential part, because they alone are to be supposed knowing in God's law; and they, being so considerable a part of the nation, cannot be concluded by the laws there made, unless they have some to represent them, and interpose in their behalf, which they have none there but the bishops:—and so, for this reason, this Act of the 8th of Elizabeth, for authorizing the form of consecrating bishops, and the first and second Acts of the 1st of Elizabeth, for enacting the oath of supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, making it treasonable to take orders from the see of Rome, establishing the form of public divine service and sacraments, &c., and all other that have been made since, in matters of religion, are no valid Acts in law, because made without consent of the lords spiritual, the rightful bishops at that time (whilst there were any living) being unjustly excluded from the Parliament; and none of those that have been made since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign being legal bishops.

EPILOGUE.

And now the reader may judge how little reason Doctor Heylin had to boast, as he does, of his church, as it was settled by Queen Elizabeth, and to bestow so much pains in writing that book to describe that settlement. "And now we may behold," saith he, "the face of the Church of England as it was first settled and established under Queen Elizabeth: the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, &c.: these bishops nominated and elected according to the statute 25 Hen. VIII., and consecrated by the ordinal confirmed by Parliament, 5 & 6 Edw. VI., &c.: the doctrine of the church reduced unto its ancient purity according to the articles agreed upon in convocation, in the year 1552: the liturgy conform to the primitive patterns," &c.—And a little after, "By this last Act (8 Eliz.), the Church of England is strongly settled on her natural pillars of doctrine, government, and worship, not otherwise to have been shaken than by the blind zeal of all such furious Sampsons as were resolved to pull it on their own heads, rather than suffer it to stand in so much glory."*

For, what was this glorious church of his, but a natural fabric, reared upon (as he calls them) natural pillars, and

* Eccl. Restau., p. 2, f. 123, 174.

the foundations of those pillars natural foundations—the Queen and Parliament; and that Parliament without any bishops, or so much as one clergyman in it? Whence, this glorious church, as it hath been once already overturned to the ground, and, as he acknowledges and complains, the very foundations of it digged up by those furious Sampsons; so it may be at any time again, when a Presbyterian or fanatic Parliament or army shall get (which God avert) the sword again into their hands.

APPENDIX.

For the better understanding of the former discourse, I have here set down some Extracts out of the ancient forms of ordaining bishops in the Greek and Latin Church, and out of the Acts of Parliament quoted in the Third Part, and the Act of the 8th of Elizabeth at large.

[In the present edition the extracts are given more fully, and with more exact references than appear in the margin of the first edition. The Anglican form has been added to the list. It was, of course, not intended to exhibit the entire of any consecration-service, but only such rubrics, ceremonies, and prayers as have reference to the question under discussion.—*Editor.*]

FORMS OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

I. ANCIENT LITURGICAL WRITERS.*

[Constit. Apost. viii. 4. Coteler. PP. Apostol. i. 391.]

Unus ex primis episcopis una cum duobus aliis prope altare stans, reliquis episcopis ac presbyteris tacite orantibus, atque diaconis divina

Εἷς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων ἅμα καὶ δυσὶν ἑτέροις, πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαςηρίου ἑςῶς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σιωπῇ προσ-

* It is hardly necessary to apprize the reader that the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, are supposititious. Yet they are admissible as evidence, and deserving of attention. The "Constitutions" were extant as early as the fourth, if not the third, century; and the compilations of the pseudo-Areopagite are as ancient as the fifth.—See Alban Butler, Saints' Lives. Nov. 23, *note*, and Oct. 3, *note.*—*Editor.*

Evangelia super caput ejus qui ordinatur aperta tenentibus dicat ad Deum.

* * * *

. . . . Da in nomine tuo Deus cognitor cordis, huic servo tuo, electo a te in episcopum, pascere sanctum tuum gregem et pontificem tuum agere, inculpate ministrantem nocte ac die; et placando faciem tuam, congregare numerum eorum qui salvi fiunt, ac offerre tibi dona sanctæ tuæ Ecclesiæ. Da illi, domine omnipotens, per Christum tuum participationem Sancti Spiritus; ut habeat potestatem remittendi peccata secundum mandatum tuum, dandi Cleros (seu ordines Ecclesiasticos) juxta præceptum tuum, et solvendi omne vinculum secundum potestatem quam tribuisti apostolis; utque tibi placeat in mansuetudine, et mundo corde, constanter, inculpate, ac irreprehensibiliter, offerendo tibi purum et incruentum sacrificium, quod per Christum constituisti mysterium Novi Testamenti, in odorem suavitatis, per sanctum Filium ac Salvatorem nostrum; per quem tibi gloria, &c. . . . .

ευχομένων, τῶν δὲ διακόνων τὰ θεῖα εὐαγγέλια ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειρατονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπτυγμένα κατεχόντων, λεγέτω πρὸς θεον.

* * * *

. . . . Δὸς ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί σου καρδιογνώστα θεὲ, ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, ὅν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην, καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι, ἀμέμπτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενον σου τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων, καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας. Δὸς αὐτῷ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· ὥστε ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναί ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου, διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ προσταγμά σου, λυειν δε πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· εὐαρεστεῖν δέ σοι ἐν πραότητι, καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀτρέπτως, αμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως, προσφεροντά σοι καθαρὰν καὶ αναίμακτον θυσίαν, ἢν διὰ Χριστοῦ διετάξω τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εἰς ὀσμὴν ἐυωδίας, διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, κ. τ. λ.

[S. Dionys. Areop. de Eccl. Hier. c. 5.]

Pontifex qui ad consecrationem in pontificem adducitur, utraque genu flexo ante altare, super caput habet evangelia, manumque pontificis, atque hoc modo ab eo pontifice qui eum consecrat sanctissimis precationibus consecratur.

Ὁ μεν ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεραρχικὴν τελείωσιν προσαγόμενος ἄμφω τῷ πόδε κλίνας ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ ἐναγγέλια καὶ τὴν χειροτονοῦντος χεῖρα, κ. τ. λ.

II. GREEK LITURGY.

[Goar's Euchologium, 302—311.]

Explicat Evangelium Pontifex, et manum etiam admoventibus aliis Pontificibus, capiti et cervicibus Ordinati imponit. Mox cruces tres in ejus capite exprimens, et manum ei impositam tenens, precatur hoc pacto.

Dominator, Domine Deus noster, qui per celeberrimum apostolum [tuum] Paulum, graduum et ordinum seriem ad subserviendum et ministrandum venerandis et illibatis mysteriis tuis in sancto altari tuo, constitutis primo apostolis, secundo prophetis, tertio doctoribus, sanxisti: ipse omnium Domine, hunc etiam suffragiis electum, et evangelicum jugum, dignitatemque pontificalem subire dignum habitum, per meam peccatoris, et stantium ministrorum et coepiscoporum manum, adventu, et virtute, et gratia sancti tui Spiritus, corrobora; sicut sanctos aposto-

Ἀναπτύσσει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ ἐπιτίθησι τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ χειροτονομένου, συνεφαπτομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αρχιερέων· εἶτα ποιῶν σταυροὺς τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔχων ἐπικειμένην αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα εὔχεται οὕτως.

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ νομοθετήσας ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ πανευφήμου σου ἀποστόλου Παύλου, βαθμῶν καὶ ταγμάτων τάξιν εἰς τὸ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν τοῖς σεπτοῖς καὶ ἀχράντοις σου μυστηρίοις ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους· αὐτὸς Δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ψηφισθέντα καὶ ἀξιωθέντα ὑπεισελθεῖν, τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἀξίαν, διὰ τῆς χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων λειτουργῶν, καὶ συνεπισκόπων, τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει, καὶ δυνάμει,

los et prophetas corroborasti, sicut reges unxisti, sicut pontifices sanctificasti: et irreprehensum ejus pontificatum ostende, et omni honestate illum exornans, sanctum illum renuncia: ut quæ populi saluti expediunt postulet, et a te exaudiri dignus fiat . . . .

* * * *

Pontifex eodem modo impositam Ordinati vertici manum tenens, hoc pacto precatur.

Domine Deus noster, qui humana natura deitatis tuæ præsentiam nullatenus ferente, tua dispensatione doctores simili nobiscum ratione passibiles thronum tuum obtinentes, hostiam et oblationem pro cuncto populo sacrificaturos constituisti. Tu Domine, etiam hunc pontificalis gratiæ dispensatorem renunciatum, Tui veri pastoris imitatorem, animam pro tuis ovibus ponentem, cæcorum ducem, in tenebris lucem, insipientium præceptorem, infantium doctorem, in mundo luminare effice: ut animas sibi creditas reparans tribunali tuo inconfusè in præsenti vita astet,* et magnam mercedem pro evangelii tui prædicatione decertaturis a te præparatam reportet. Tuum enim est misereri, et salvare, Deus.

καὶ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος ἐνίσχυσον, ὡς ἐνίσχυσας τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποϛόλους καὶ προφήτας, ὡς ἔχρισας τοὺς βασιλεὶς, ὡς ἡγίασας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς· καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόδειξον, καὶ πάσῃ σεμνότητι κατακοσμῶν, ἅγιον ἀνάδειξον εἰς τὸ ἄξιον γενέσθαι τοῦ αἰτεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ὑπακούειν σε αὐτοῦ . . .

* * * *

Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων ὡσαύτως τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κορυφῇ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην, εὔχεται οὕτως.

Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν τὴν τῆς θεότητος ὑπενεγκεῖν οὐσίαν, τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν διδασκάλους καταϛήσας, τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντας θρόνον, εἰς τὸ ἀναφέρειν σοι θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Σὺ Κύριε, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀναδειχθέντα οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος ποιήσον γενέσθαι μιμητὴν σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος, τιθέντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων σου· ὁδηγὸν τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον νηπίων, φωστῆρα ἐν κόσμῳ· ἵνα καταρτίσας τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐμπιϛευθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς παραϛῇ τῳ βηματί σου ἀκαταισχυντως· καὶ τον μεγαν μισθον λήψηται ὃν ἡτοιμασας τοῖς ἀθλήσασι ὑπὲρ του κηρυγματὸς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σου· σὸν γάρ ἐϛι τὸ ἐλεεῖν και σώζειν ὁ θεός.

*** Ut perficiens animas sibi creditas in hac vitâ sistatur tribunali tuo absque confusione: as Habert more correctly translates p. 69.—*Editor.***

[Habert Liber Pontificalis, p. 67.]

Deinde Patriarcha Evangelii librum explicans imponit cervici et capiti ipsius, contingentibus pontificibus omnibus. Antequam vero imponatur Evangelium, consignat etiam iterum caput ipsius, contingentibus quoque pontificibus cæteris. Priusquam autem Evangelium imponatur, consignat caput ipsius ter. Evangelio autem imposito, Patriarcha sic precatur.

Domine Dominator, Deus noster, &c.
Domine Deus noster, &c.

Εἶτα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ Πατριάρχης ἀναπτύσσων, ἐπιτίθησι τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτου, συνεφαπτομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων πάντων. Πρὸ τοῦ τεθεῖναι δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, σφραγίζει καὶ αὖθις τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, συνεφαπτομένων καὶ τῶν αρχιερέων πάντων. Πρὸ τοῦ τεθεῖναι δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, σφραγίζει δὲ αὖθις τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τρίς· τοῦ δὲ Ευαγγελίου τεθέντος ὁ πατριάρχης εὔχεται οὕτως.

Δέσποτα κύριε . . . .
Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.

III. SYRIAN NESTORIAN LITURGY.

[Morinus' Version. Apud Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, l. 1, c. 8. Art. xi. *ordo* 21.]

. . . . *Evangelium accipit Præsul et imponit illud super dorsum illius qui ordinatur . . . . Cum imponitur Evangelium super dorsum ejus qui ordinatur, omnes episcopi qui illic sunt imponunt manus suas super illum ex utroque latere donec omnes preces absolutæ fuerint . . . . Et repetit Præsul:*

Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi quæ omni tempore deficientia supplet, &c. . . . . Precamur omnes pro eo, ut veniat donum tuum, Deus, et cum virtute perficiat, et consummet in ministerio episcopali, gratia et misericordia Unigeniti tui . . . .

Et repetit Præsul, cum imponit manum dextram super caput ejus qui ordinatur; sinistram vero extendit extensione deprecatoria, dicens:

Deus noster bone et liberalis . . . . Tu Domine, in multitudine donorum tuorum inenarrabilium posuisti nos intercessores istorum donorum tuorum divinorum et cælestium quæ nobis data sunt ab auxilio Majestatis tuæ, et concessa nobis in adjumentum hominum et in redemptionem communem per manus infirmitatis nostræ in ecclesia tua sancta sponsa tua quam despondisti Filio tuo et coronasti redemptione ejus per passionem Christi tui. Et quemadmodum, Domine, traditio apostolica quæ per Chirotoniam deducta est ad nos, et impositio manus ministerii ecclesiastici et beneplacito consensuque sanctæ Trinitatis. . . . . Oramus omnes pro eo, ut veniat super eum gratia Spiritus Sancti cum vehementi amoris affectu et illapsu divino; perficiatque et sanctificet eum, et compleat ad opus perfectum magni hujus et excellentis ministerii ad quod accedit gratia et misericordia Unigeniti tui. Nunc [et semper]. *Postea signat eum qui ordinatur. Respondent* Amen.

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Et recitat Præsul eam orationem quæ dici solet super episcopos, quæ eadem etiam recitatur super Metropolitam.

Deus Dominus ab æterno occultorum cognitor . . . . Indue eum, Domine, virtute ex alto, ut liget et solvat in cælis et in terra, atque in impositione manus ejus curentur infirmi, fiantque per eum virtutes in nomine tuo sancto ad laudem Divinitatis tuæ, et creat in virtute doni tui presbyteros et diaconos et diaconissas et subdiaconos et lectores in ministerium ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ, &c. . . . .

IV. ANCIENT WESTERN LITURGY.

[Egbert's Pontifical. MS. of the eighth century. — Martene, *ubi supra, ordo* 2.]

Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum librum super cervicem ejus, et unus fundat super eum benedictionem; et postea istas tres orationes omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, recitare debent: reliqui vero manus suas super caput ejus tangant.

Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, huic viro ill.* ad utilitatem ecclesiæ provehendo benignitatem omnipotentis Dei qui gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per.

Adesto supplicationibus nostris, omnipotens Deus, et quod humilitatis nostræ gerendum est ministerio, tuæ virtutis impleatur effectu. Per.

Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et inclinato super hunc famulum tuum ill. cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis, benedictionis tuæ in eum infunde virtutem. Per.

Exaudi, Domine supplicum preces, ut quod nostro gerendum est ministerio, tua potius virtute firmetur. Per.

Iterum unus ex eis dicat hanc orationem super episcopum.

Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus, Deus qui Moysen famulum tuum secreti familiaris affectu, inter cætera cælestis documenta culturæ, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotalis instituens electum Aaron mystico amictu vestiri inter sacra jussisti, ut intelligentiæ sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura posteritas, ne eruditio doctrinæ ullæ deesset ætati, cum et apud veteres

* Notum est *Ill.* indicare nomen ponendum, idemque valere quod nunc *N.N.* Litteram *N.* loco nominis proprii Menardus (ad Sacrament. S. Gregor.) paulo ante annum M. poni cœpisse putat. Mabillonius ante annos octingentos: quod annotavit Ducangius. Vide l. 2. A. Diplom. cap. 22, n. 17.—(Lazerus, De antiquis formulis fidei.)—*Editor.*

reverentiam ipsa significationum species obtineret, et apud nos certiora essent experimenta rerum quam ænigmata figurarum. . . . . Et idcirco huic famulo tuo ill. quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut quidquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat. Comple in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum eum cælestis unguenti flore [rore] sanctifica. Hoc, Domine, copiose in ejus caput influat. Hoc in oris subjecta decurrat. Hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat; ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora ejus repleat, et exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis . . . . Da ei, quæsumus, claves regni cælorum; ut quodcumque ligaverit super terram sit ligatum et in cælis; et quodcumque solverit super terram sit solutum et in cælis; et quorum detenuerit peccata detenta sint, et quorum remiserit, tu Domine dimittere digneris. . . . . Tribue ei cathedram episcopalem ad regendam ecclesiam tuam et plebem universam. Sis ei auctoritas, sis potestas, sis ei firmitas: multiplices super eum benedictionem et gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam, tuo munere idoneus, tua gratia possit esse devotus.

Unguantur manus istæ, et sancti✠ficentur, et in te Deo deorum ordinentur. Ungue has manus oleo sanctificato, et chrismate unctionis purificato, sicut unxit Moises verbo oris sui manus sancti Aaron germani sui. Et sicut unxit Spiritus sanctus per suos flatus omnium sacerdotum, et sicut Jesus Salvator omnium nostrorum sanctas manus [suorum apostolorum; ita unguantur manus istæ] et sanctificentur et consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectæ in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiique tui, atque æterni Spiritus sancti, qui es unus ac summus Deus omnium vivorum et mortuorum manens in sæcula sæculorum.

Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cælesti benedictione in ordine pontificali. In nomine Patris, &c.

[Salzburg Pontifical. MS. of the 12th century, and ancient Roman Ordo. Martene, *ordo* 8.]

. . . . *Deinde imponat clerus letaniam, et prosternat se Ordinator Electi simul cum Electo et cæteris episcopis ante altare super stramenta usque dum dicat schola* Agnus Dei. *Ut autem surrexerint, duo episcopi ponunt et tenent Evangeliorum codicem super verticem ejus et inter scapulas clausum, et uno fundente super ea* [*eum*] *benedictionem, reliqui omnes qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangunt, et dicat Ordinator orationem:*

Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus, &c.

Oremus dilectissimi, &c.

Propitiare, &c.

Tunc incipit alta voce:

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Dominus vobiscum. Sursum corda. Gratias agamus, ... ✠ æterne Deus, honor omnium dignitatum quæ gloriæ tuæ sacratis famulantur ordinibus, &c. . . . . *usque* . . . . cælestis unguenti flore sanctifica.

Hic mittatur chrisma in caput ejus in modum crucis, et dicatur:

Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum cælesti benedictione in ordine pontificali, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.

Pax tibi. *Res.* Et cum spiritu tuo. Hoc, Domine, copiose in ejus caput influat, &c. . . . . possit esse devotus. Per. *Ut in ordine Romano.*

Unguantur manus istæ de oleo sanctificato et chrismate sanctificationis, &c. . . . . *ut in ordine Romano.*

[MSS. Pontificals of the Monastery of Bec, 12th or 13th century. Martene. *ordo* 11.]

Episcopum qui ordinandus est duo episcopi per manus de secretario, antequam evangelium legatur, deducant ante altare; et eo inibi prosternato, ab archiepiscopo inchoetur letania; qua finita, et

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eo erecto, ponatur evangelium super scapulas ejus; et has dicant episcopi super ipsum orationes:

Oremus dilectissimi . . . .

Adesto supplicationibus nostris . . . .

Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus . . . .

Solus vero archiepiscopus hanc dicat consecrationem, cæteris astantibus, et duobus episcopis Evangelium super ipsum qui ordinandus est tenentibus.

Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus, &c. . . . .

Consecratio manuum episcopi ab archiepiscopo oleo sancto et chrismate.

Unguantur manus istæ et sanctificentur, et in te Deo deorum ordinentur, &c. . . . .

Hic mittatur oleum super caput ejus.

Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum, &c. . . . .

[MS. Roman Pontifical. Martene, *ordo* 17.]

Sequitur oratio pro electo; quæ dicitur in secundo et tertio vel ultimo loco inter primas orationes de Missa.

Adesto supplicationibus . . . .

Et cætera ex more cantentur usque ad repetitionem Alleluia, *vel ad ultimum versum tractus. Interim . . . duo episcopi pluvialibus induti deducant* [electum] *superius ante altare coram Apostolico. Et ille sedendo dicit:*

Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, consecrare, confirmare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare.

Deinde surgens et convertens se Apostolicus ad circumstantes dicit hanc orationem:

Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, ut huic viro utilitati ecclesiæ providens benignitas omnipotentis Dei gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum.

Et statim ipse incipit Kyrie eleison *cum letania, et prosternit se, &c.* . . . .

Ut autem surrexerint, duo episcopi ponunt et tenent evangelio-

rum codicem super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum: episcopo super eum fundente benedictionem. Reliqui episcopi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant. Et dicat ordinator alta voce, alii vero submissa in modum orationis:

Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus, &c. . . . .

Et dicat alta voce, et astantes submissa in modum Præfationis:

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda . . . . Habemus.

Gratias . . . . Dignum.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare: Nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, &c. . . . . honor omnium dignitatem quæ gloriæ tuæ famulantur ordinibus. Deus qui per Moysen famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, &c. . . . . . . cælestis unguenti rore sanctifica.

. . . . *Deinde consecrator mittat chrisma super caput ejus in modum crucis* . . . .

Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum cælesti bene✠dictione in ordine pontificali, in nomine Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus✠ Sancti. Amen.

Hoc, Domine, copiose in caput ejus influat. Hoc in oris subjecta decurrat. Hoc in totius corporis, &c. . . . . tuo munere idoneus, tua gratia possit esse devotus. *Et respondeant omnes:* Amen.

Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, ipse te chrismate et mysticæ delibutionis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis bene✠dictionis ubertate fæcundet, ut quidquid sanctificaveris sanctificetur: et consecratæ manus tuæ vel pollicis impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. *Res.* Amen.

[MS. Pontifical of Lyons, 14th century. Martene, *ordo* 18.]

Letania finita, surgunt omnes: et Consecratore ante altare stante, vultu ad chorum verso, et Electo ante illum genuflectente, Conse-

crator aperiat codicem Evangeliorum, ponens illum super caput et scapulas Consecrandi, et duo episcopi sustineant illum, littera ex parte inferiore manente. Tunc Ordinator imponat utramque manum super caput illius dicens: Accipe Spiritum Sanctum. *Idemque faciant et dicant omnes episcopi tam tenentes librum, quam alii successive. Quo facto, illo genuflectente, dicat Ordinator media voce, et etiam alii episcopi, submisso tamen voce, cum ipso:*

Propitiare, Domine, &c. . . . . .

Deinde dicat Consecrator voce mediocri, junctis manibus ante pectus, et alii etiam episcopi tenentes libros idem dicant submissa voce:

Per omnia, &c. . . . . .

Deus honorum, &c. . . . . . *usque* rore sanctifica.

Hic incipiat Consecrator flexis genibus Sequentiam: Veni Sancte Spiritus. *Et mox surgens dum cantatur, mittat chrisma in caput illius in modum crucis. . . . . et tam ipse quam alii episcopi dicant quasi legendo:*

Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum, &c. . . . .

Sed secundum morem quarumdam ecclesiarum omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, similiter perungunt successive caput illius manibus suis, et singuli dicunt: Unguatur et consecretur, &c. *ut supra; quod nec juri, nec Ecclesiæ Romanæ consuetudini consentaneum est.*

Expleta unctione, et finita Sequentia, Pontifex resumat iterum in pristino tono, et dicat:

Hoc Domine copiose, &c. . . . . . *usque* possit esse devotus. *Quod sequitur dicat plane quasi legendo.* Per Dominum. *Et respondeant omnes episcopi:* Amen.

*Item alia oratio.**

Pater Sancte, omnipotens Deus, qui per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ab initio cuncta creasti . . . . præsta ut hic famulus tuus sit ministeriis cunctisque fideliter gerendis

* This additional prayer is also found in the Bec MS., and in the more ancient one of Jumieges. Martene ii. 40-63.—*Editor.*

officiis dignus, ut antiquitus instituta sacramentorum possit mysteria celebrare, per te in summum ad quod assumitur sacerdotium consecretur, sit super eundem benedictio tua, licet manu nostra sit porrecta. Præcipe Domine, huic pascere oves tuas, ac tribue ut in commissi gregis custodiam sollicitus pastor invigilet. . . . .

. . . . *Mox confirmet et inungat ambas manus illius et pollices cum chrismate* . . . . *et perungendo dicat Consecrator tam ipse quam alii episcopi:*

Ungantur manus istæ et sanctificentur, et in te Deo deorum ordinentur, &c. . . . .

V. ROMAN PONTIFICAL

Published by Clement VIII. (1596), and Urban VIII. (1644.)

This agrees with the foregoing so closely, that the variations, such as the following, need hardly be specified.

Tum Consecrator, accepto libro Evangeliorum, illum apertum, adjuvantibus Episcopis assistentibus, nihil dicens imponit super cervicem et scapulas Electi, &c. . . . . *quem unus ex capellanis Electi, post illum genuflexus, quousque liber ipse eidem Electo in manus tradendus sit* [after the anointing of the head and the hands, and the delivery of the pastoral staff and the ring], *continue sustinet.*

* * * * * *

Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum cælesti benedictione in ordine Pontificali. In nomine ✠ Patris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti. *Res.* Amen. Pax tibi. *Res.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

* * * * * *

Ungantur manus istæ de oleo sanctificato, et chrismate sanctificationis, sicut unxit Samuel David Regem et Prophetam, ita ungantur, et consecrentur. In nomine Dei Pa ✠ tris, et Fi ✠ lii, et Spritus ✠ Sancti, facientes imaginem sanctæ crucis Salvatoris nostræ Jesu Christi, qui nos a morte redemit, et ad regna cælorum perduxit. Exaudi nos pie Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus; et præsta, ut, quod te rogamus, exoremus. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te ad Pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem ipse te chrismate, et mysticæ delibutionis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis bene ✠ dictionis ubertate fæcundet; quidquid bene ✠ dixeris, benedicatur; et quidquid sanctificaveris, sanctificetur; et consecratæ manus istius, vel pollicis impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Amen.

VI. BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

[Keeling's Liturgiæ Britannicæ.]

[*In the Litany:*]

That it may please thee to bless this our brother elected, and to send thy grace upon him, that he may duly execute the office whereunto he is called, to the edifying of thy church, and to the honour, praise, and glory of thy name.

Answer. We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

[*At the end of the Litany:*]

Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of ministers in thy church, mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a bishop, and replenish him so with the truth of thy doctrine, and adorn him with innocency of life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this office to the glory of thy name, and the edifying and well-governing of thy church, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen

[*After the Hymn*—Come, Holy Ghost.]

Almighty God and most merciful Father, who of thine infinite goodness hast given thy only and dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ to be our redeemer, and the author of everlasting life; who, after that he had made perfect our redemption by his death, and was ascended into heaven, poured down his gifts abundantly upon men, making some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors, to the edifying and making perfect his church; grant, we beseech thee, to this thy servant, such grace that he may evermore be ready to spread abroad thy gospel, the glad tidings of reconciliation with thee, and use the authority given him, not to destruction, but to salvation, not to hurt, but to help; so that as a wise and faithful servant, giving to thy family their portion in due season, he may at last be received into everlasting joy through Jesus Christ our Lord, who, &c.

"Then the archbishop and bishops present shall lay their hands upon the elected bishop, kneeling before them upon his knees, the archbishop saying,"—

[*Form adopted at the Review in* 1662, *and thenceforth used.*] *

Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.

"Then the archbishop shall deliver him the bible, saying,"—

Give heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this book, &c. . . . .

[*Form set forth in* 1552, *and in use for a hundred and ten years.*]

Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee, by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.

[*Edition of* 1549.]

"Then the archbishop shall lay the bible upon his neck, saying,"—

Give heed unto reading, exhortation, &c. . . . .

* The most minute variations of phrase occurring in the several editions are carefully noted by Mr. Keeling. These it is unnecessary to speak of here; but the difference which presents itself in the instance before us is neither minute nor unimportant. It may be proper to add some remarks from an eminent Catholic divine of the present day:—"Whoever weighs all the words which are made use of in the administration of the sacred rite, whether those which precede the above; or those which follow them, will feel convinced that there is not any thing in either of them to which it is possible to attach the grace and virtue of consecration. The words which precede the above, imply manifestly, that the individual, upon whom the solemn action is now performing, is not yet consecrated. The words which follow them, just as obviously imply, that he is now consecrated; in short, if there be any thing in the aforesaid ordinal that constitutes the form, and can be supposed to communicate the character of the episcopal order, it is, beyond all doubt, comprised in the terms just cited—'Take the Holy Ghost,' &c.......As a form of ordination it is completely *new;* and this circumstance alone is sufficient,

"Then the archbishop shall proceed in the communion service; with whom the new consecrated bishop (with others) shall also communicate."

I will not say to render it invalid, but at all events to render it extremely dubious. It is true, indeed, that, in relation to the words themselves, being the words of the sacred Scripture, they are, hence, sacred and ancient. But then they are nowhere prescribed in the holy volume as the form or order of the episcopal consecration, they are words addressed to an individual who had long since received the episcopal consecration; and containing, in themselves, little else than a mere exhortation to piety. In short, as I have remarked, they are, as a form of ordination, *new;* nowhere, until the recent creation of the Church of England, to be found in any ordinal or ritual, either Catholic, heretical, or schismatical,—a consideration this, which alone should serve to awaken doubt. ...... The Catholics had, long and incessantly, forced upon the attention of the established clergy the very striking imperfections of their form of ordination—its novelty, its inadequacy, &c., which the latter, unable perhaps to see, or at least unwilling to own, had, also, long and very ardently defended. However, at length, either because they were struck by the force of evidence, or because they were alarmed at the idea of their own insecurity, they began to relent. They now deemed it prudent, not indeed openly to avow the nullity of the above form (this could not be expected from them), but very sensibly to change the terms of it: they did this—substituting in room of the preceding terms others which are certainly a great deal more rational and consistent; more conformable to ancient precedent; and expressing, as such an institution ought to express, both the nature of the office intended to be conferred, and the character of the grace appropriate to it. In short, rejecting the long-used form, they now adopted the following new one in its stead—'Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a bishop, in the church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And remember, that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of our hands. For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and soberness.' (They, too, besides this, made a similar alteration at the same time in the form of ordaining priests, because they now considered this like that for the consecration of the prelacy, imperfect.) The above alterations were effected in the reign of the second Charles, in the year 1662, that is exactly a hundred and twelve years after the introduction of the forms prescribed in the ordinal of Edward VI.; for Burnet dates the introduction of this ordinal in the year 1550. ...... Consecrated as were the whole prelacy

[*Post-communion Prayer.*]

Most merciful Father, we beseech thee to send down upon this thy servant thy heavenly blessing, and so endue him with thy Holy Spirit, that he, preaching thy word, may not only be earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke, with all patience and doctrine, but also may be to such as believe a wholesome example in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity, and in purity; that, faithfully fulfilling his course, at the latter day he may receive the crown of righteousness laid up by the Lord, the righteous judge, who liveth and reigneth, &c. . . . .

and priesthood of the established church, during the space of upwards of a century, by no other forms than those prescribed in the ordinal of Edward, it plainly follows that if they were null, then null also must have been all the consecrations designed to have been effected by them. Such consecrations, however solemnly performed, were completely unavailing—leaving the individuals, upon whom they were performed, precisely what they were before the awful act—priests, if hitherto they had been priests—laymen, if, until now, they had been laymen....... But if these forms were really null, and hence incompetent to communicate the pastoral character, so it is of course evident, that, when the alteration of them took place in 1662 (that is *a hundred and twelve years after their first introduction*), this sacred dignity must, ere this, have vanished. It is true that at the above epoch the established clergy, sensible of the defects of those forms, introduced and employed new ones, far wiser, in their stead. But then, unfortunately, the improvement, after such length of interval, could not possibly have been of any avail. It came too late. For, if the men who now began to use the new forms, had not been themselves validly ordained, they could not now, the thing is evident, validly ordain their brethren. They could not impart a character which they did not themselves possess; could not make priests, or bishops, unless they were, themselves such; as it is a maxim of the established church that it is only a bishop that can make a priest, or bishop. So that if once the invalidity of the forms of ordination, prescribed in Edward's ordinal, be established, the consequence in this case is undeniable, that then the real pastoral character and commission have been long since extinguished in the Church of England."—*Comparative View of the Grounds of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. By the Rev. John Fletcher, D.D.* London, 1826.

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

25 Henry VIII. c. 20, sect. 5 and 6.

If the person be elected to the office and dignity of an archbishop, ... the king's highness shall, by his letters patent, signify the said election to one archbishop and two other bishops, or else to four bishops . . . . to be assigned by the king, requiring and commanding him or them, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person, so elected, to the office and dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same. . . . . And every person being hereafter elected, invested, and consecrated to the dignity or office of any archbishop or bishop according to the tenor of this act, ... shall and may be enthronized or installed, &c., and shall and may do and execute in every thing and things touching the same, as any archbishop or bishop of this realm (without offending of the prerogative royal of the crown, and the laws and customs of this realm) might at any time heretofore do.

5 & 6 EDWARD VI. c. 1, sect. 5 and 6.

An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments.

WHERE there hath been a very godly order set forth by the authority of parliament, for common prayer and administration of the sacraments, &c., the King hath, by the authority of the Lords and Commons in this Parliament assembled, caused the aforesaid order of common service, intituled, "The Book of Common Prayer," to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect; and, by the aforesaid authority, hath annexed and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present statute, adding, also, a form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, to be of like force, authority, and value, as the same like aforesaid Book of Common Prayer was before, &c.; if any shall wittingly hear and be present at any other manner or form of common prayer, of administration of the sacraments, of making ministers in the churches, or of any other rites contained in the book annexed to this act, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, &c.

1 ELIZABETH, c. 2, sect. 1 and 2.

That there shall be Uniformity of Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments.

WHEREAS, at the death of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VI., there remained one uniform order of common

service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England, which was set forth in one book, intituled, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England," authorized by Act of Parliament, holden in the 5th and 6th years of our said late sovereign, intituled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments," the which was repealed by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late Sovereign Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion: Be it therefore enacted, &c., that the said statute of repeal, and every thing therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of the sacraments, rites and ceremonies contained or appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect. . . . . And that the said book, with the order of the service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by the statute, shall stand and be in full force, &c.

8 Elizabeth, c. 1, sect. 1.

All Acts made by any person since 1 Elizabeth for the Consecrating, Investing, &c. of any Archbishop or Bishop, shall be good.

I. Forasmuch as divers questions, by overmuch boldness of speech and talk, amongst many of the common sort of people, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm, whether the same were and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not,

which is much tending to the slander of all the state of the clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm: therefore for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man, that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby, partly to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done, according to the laws of this realm; and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed.

II. First, it is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late king, of most famous memory, King Henry VIII., as well by all the clergy then of this realm, in their several convocations, as also by all the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled in divers of his Parliaments, was justly and rightly recognized and acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule and authority, over all the state ecclesiastical of the same; and the same power, jurisdiction, and authority did use accordingly: And that also the said late king, in the five-and-twentieth year of his reign, did, by authority of Parliament, amongst other things, set forth a certain order of the manner and form how archbishops and bishops within this realm, and other his dominions, should be elected and made, as by the same more plainly appeareth: And that also the late king of worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, did lawfully succeed his father in the imperial crown of this realm, and did justly possess and enjoy all the same power, jurisdiction, and authority before mentioned, as a thing to him descended with the said imperial crown, and so used the same during his life: And that also the said late king, Edward VI., in his time, by authority of Parliament, caused a godly and virtuous book, intituled, "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church

of England," to be made and set forth, not only for one uniform order of service, common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be used within this realm, and other his dominions, but also did add and put to the same book a very good and godly order of the manner and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers should, from time to time, be consecrated, made, and ordered, within this realm, and other his dominions, as by the same more plainly may and will appear: And although, in the time of the late Queen Mary, as well the said act and statute, made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said late king, Henry VIII., as also the several acts and statutes made in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th years of the reign of the said late King Edward, for the authorizing and allowing of the said Book of Common Prayer, and other the premises, amongst divers other acts and statutes, touching the said supreme authority, were repealed; yet, nevertheless, at the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty that now is, by one other act and statute there made, all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm, and the order, reformation, and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same parliament, united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and by the same act and statute, there is also given to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, kings and queens of this realm, full power and authority, by letters patent under the great seal of England, from time to time, to assign, name, and authorize such person or persons as she or they shall think meet and convenient, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under her highness, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities, in anywise touching or concerning any spiritual or eccle-

siastical power or jurisdiction, within this realm, or any other her highness's dominions or countries: And also, by the same act and statute, the said act made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said late king, Henry VIII., for the order and form of the electing and making of the said archbishops and bishops, together with divers other statutes touching the jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, is revived, and made in full force and effect, as by the same act and statute plainly appeareth: And that also, by another act and statute, made in the said parliament, in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady, intituled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of Sacraments," the said Book of Common Prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other the said orders, rites, and ceremonies before mentioned, and all things therein contained, with certain additions therein newly added and appointed by the said statute, is fully established and authorized, to be used in all places within this realm, and all other the Queen's Majesty's dominions and countries, as by the same act among other things more plainly appeareth: Whereupon our said Sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, being most justly and lawfully invested, ... and having in her Majesty's order and disposition all the said jurisdictions, powers, and authorities, over the state ecclesiastical and temporal, as well in cases ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and other her Majesty's dominions and countries, hath, by her supreme authority, at divers times sithence the beginning of her Majesty's reign, caused divers and sundry grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops of divers archbishoprics and bishoprics within this realm, and other her Majesty's dominions and countries, according to such order and form, and with such ceremonies in and about their consecration, as were allowed and set forth by the said acts, statutes, and orders, annexed to the said Book of Common Prayer before mentioned:

And further, for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrating of the said archbishops and bishops, her Highness, in her letters patents under the great seal of England, directed to any archbishop, bishop, or others, for the confirming, investing, and consecrating of any person elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop, hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the said late King Henry and King Edward, her Majesty's father and brother, in their like letters patents made for such causes; but also hath used and put in her Majesty's said letters patents divers other general words and sentences, whereby her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that can or may in anywise be objected against the same, as by her Majesty's said letters patents, remaining of record, more plainly will appear: So that to all those that will well consider of the effect and true intent of the said laws and statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the Queen's Highness, and which she, by her Majesty's said letters patents, hath used and put in use, in and about the making and consecrating of the said archbishops and bishops, it is and may be very evident and apparent that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be used or had in or about the same; but that every thing requisite and material for that purpose hath been made and done, as precisely, and with as great a care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was done before her Majesty's time, as the records of her Majesty's said father's and brother's time, and also of her own time, will more plainly testify and declare:

III. Wherefore, for the plain declaration of all the premises, and to the intent that the same may be better known to every of the Queen's Majesty's subjects, whereby such evil speech, as

heretofore hath been used against the high state of prelacy, may hereafter cease: Be it now declared and enacted, ... that the said act and statute, made in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty, whereby the said Book of Common Prayer, and the administration of sacraments, with other rites and ceremonies, is authorized and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect to all respects and purposes: And that such order and form for the consecrating of archbishops and bishops, and for the making of priests, deacons, and ministers, as was set forth in the time of the said late king, Edward VI., and added to the said Book of Common Prayer, and authorized by Parliament in the 5th and 6th year of the said late king, shall stand and be in full force and effect, and shall from henceforth be used and observed, in all places within this realm, and other the Queen's Majesty's dominions and countries:

IV. And that all acts and things, heretofore had, made, or done, by any person or persons, in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions or countries, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters patents or commission, sithence the beginning of her Majesty's reign, be, and shall be, by authority of this present Parliament, declared, judged, and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes, any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

V. And that all persons, that have been made or shall be made, ordered, or consecrated, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, or deacons, after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers should be consecrated, made, and ordered, be in very deed, and also, by

authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers, and rightly made, ordered, and consecrated, any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. Provided always, and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall, at any time hereafter, be impeached or molested, in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop heretofore made, or, before the last day of this present session of Parliament, to be made, by virtue of any act made in the first session of this present Parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath, declared and set forth by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, any thing in this act, or any other act or statute heretofore made, to the contrary notwithstanding.

VII. And that all tenders of the said oath, made by any archbishop or bishop aforesaid, or, before the last day of this present session, to be made, by authority of any act established in the first session of this present Parliament, and all refusals of the same oath so tendered, or, before the last day of this session, to be tendered, by any archbishop or bishop, by authority of any act established in the first session of this present Parliament, shall be void and of none effect or validity in the law.

FINIS.